

PLUTARCH'S
Morals
*Translated from
the Greek
by severall hands*
Volume

London

Edo Pease

Plutarch's MORALS:

Translated from the *GREEK*

Mary BY *Inskine*
SEVERAL HANDS.

Volume I.

The Third Edition Corrected and Amended.



L O N D O N,

Printed by *Tho. Braddyll*, and are to be Sold by
most Booksellers in *London* and *Westminster*.

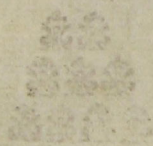
M D C X C I V.

Plutarch's
MORALS:

Translated from the GREEK
by
SEVERAL HANDS.

Volume I.

At the College of Physicians and Surgeons.



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MDCXIV.

T O T H E
Most Reverend Father in G O D
W I L L I A M

By Divine Providence
L O R D *Archbishop of Canterbury,*
Primate and Metropolitan

O F A L L
E N G L A N D .

M Y L O R D ,

W I T H the lowest Submission I
beg Pardon for the Presumption
of this *Address*, it coming
from One, who is so utterly
unknown to *Your Grace*, and if He was, hath
not the least Deservings to qualifie him for
such an *Honour*; but if *You* vouchsafe to shine
auspiciously upon him, and it is hard not to
share in an Influence, which is so general;
since all Men enjoy the Diffusiveness of the
Sun-beams, *You* can Illustrate even the meanest
Person and make him considerable; being con-
scious to my self, that my Abilities were not
equal to the *Attempt*, it was consequently
above my *Ambition* too; but when I acquaint

A 3

Your

The EPISTLE

Your Lordship with the Motive that induc'd me to *Appear* thus forward, I hope it will in some measure *Aton*e for that which otherwise may be thought an *Intrusion* into such an *awful Presence* : The *Morals* of *Plutarch* being *Translated* by *several Hands*, all the *Undertakers* concurr'd *Unanimously* in *Your Lordship*, as the *Patron*, but their esteeming me a fit *Instrument* to sollicite it for them proceeded altogether from the *Partiality* of their *Affection* ; I was very unwilling, that the *Volume* should lose so great a *Mæcenas*, and therefore chose rather to *Sacrifice* my little *Reputation* to their kind *Importunity* and the public *Censure*, than that it should go *Unprefac'd* : It would be *Confidence* in me to tell *Your Lordship*, That the *Author* of them was the *wisest Man* of his *Age*, and if He had been a *Christian*, *One of the Best* too ; but it was his severe *Fate* to flourish in those *Days of Ignorance*, which 'tis a *favourable Opinion* to hope the *Almighty* will one time wink at, That our *Souls* may be with these *Philosophers* together in the same *State of Bliss* ; I considered likewise, that though *Your sublime Condition* might *Command* our utmost *Observances*, so the *Nature of the Subject* justly *Entituled* it self to *Your Protection* ; For there are some *Pieces* in this celebrated *Heathen* of the most *Refin'd Morality*, that ever were writ, This may seem to justify the *Decency* of the *Dedication*,

DEDICATORY.

dication, though there is no occasion for it
 in any other respect: For Your Life is the
 Transcript of those Vertues which are here
 taught, You practise all the *Precepts* better
 than He hath describ'd them in *Theory*, and
 the Rays which were weak, because dis-
 pers'd in divers Chapters, are all United in
 Your Lordship, as a shining Light; I
 should be Unjust to the Expectations of the
 World, if I did not give some Account of
 those Excellencies which Adorn Your *Grace*;
 but this is a Task for one of more polite
 Attainments than my self: If I should take
 the Pencil in order to a Draught, I have not
 strength to manage it; for my Hand must
 needs tremble with the Apprehension of so
 difficult a Performance, even the most Inge-
 nuous Designer would find himself at a loss to
 hit all the Features, and after the Efforts of
 his Art, must confess, that it is but a very
 faint Copy. But to trace the first Lines of
 Your Portraite; *Cambridge*, my Lord, had
 the Bloom of Your Years, and was *The*
Happy Mother of such a *Renowned Prelate*:
 This is an Accession of Fame, They may al-
 ways boast of, and any *University* would con-
 tend for: It is with some Reluctance that
 we quit the Advantage, and are forc'd to
 throw them in so many Grains to over-
 ballance there those *Strictures* first broke us
 out,

The EPISTLE

out, which have since made the whole *English Hemisphere* serene ; and You put forth those early hopes of Your Self which You have made good by all the Actions of Your Life ; though there was little need of *Cultivation*, where the Soil was so naturally Fruitful, and Instruction to Your Lordship, even in the Tenderness of Your Youth, was like enamelling upon Gold, it might give it an outward Varnish, but the Materials had an Original Value in themselves ; but though we are robb'd of the Glory to have Your Lordship bred up in any of our *Colleges* , yet Your Authority presides amongst some of us, and we experience the Results of that Wisdom, which is matur'd by Age, and confirm'd by a long Tract of *Observations* ; You are particularly the *Visiter* of one *Foundation*, which is the most Elegant in the World ; for it consists of those who are both *Gentlemen* and *Scholars*, and who are not only the *Ornaments* of our *Athens*, but a *Credit* to the *Nation* in General ; for here they improve the *Intervals* of a Noble Leisure, that they may drop ripe into the *Functions* of Church and State, and some who have made the *brightest Figure* in either, have here imbib'd their *Rudiments*, and been tinctur'd with those first *Endowments* , which have afterwards render'd them the *Delight* and *Benefit* of those *Generations* they have liv'd in : But (my Lord)

the

DEDICATORY.

the Place which was the Scene of Your *E-ducation*, became at last the *Sphere* of Your Government, and then You gave those rare Instances of a vast *Understanding*, and a clear *Insight* into the Nature of all Affairs, how intricate soever, that by these *Specimens* it was very manifest that You were born for extraordinary Things : The *Fellows* saw with an anxious *Concern*, that those Rich Qualities, which prefer'd You amongst them, were like to deprive them of You too ; that those *Limits* were too narrow for *Your Genius*, and that it requir'd a more extensive Province to dilate it self in, *Pauls* which had stood the Shock of so many Ages, began now to threaten an entire *Downfal*, and call'd for Your charitable Hand to relieve her, now she was grown decrepid, and to repair her *Decays* of Time ; You *Afferted* her Rights and *Husbanded* her Revenues with that frugal, that splendid *Oeconomy* that she began to recover her former *Complexion*, and her *wrinkles* to look *florid*, till at last she fell a Sacrifice in that *dismal Conflagration*, and had *Burning* instead of *Beauty*. This was an *Afflict ing Accident* to see all Your *Industry* and *Sollicitations* buried in rubbish ; yet Your Care surviv'd the *Desolation*, as *Aeneas* did *Anchises*, You retriev'd the *Reverend Pile* out of *Fire*, and were as diligent to raise it out of *Ashes*, as you were before to support its
Ruines ;

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Ruines ; And now, *my Lord*, you have received a full *Recompence* for all Your *Piety*, like *Phidias* his Statue, you only wanted such an *Eminence* as this to be set upon, that those delicate strokes might be conspicuous, which were darkned by a lower Scituation ; whilst others only resemble that of *Alcmenes*, they appear polish'd and well wrought to a nearer View, but are unpleasant and deform'd Objects, when they are rais'd, for they bear no proportion to Your *Height* : For when the *Man* moves in an *Orb* suitable to his *Birth* and *Capacity*, the *Humility* of his *Fortune* conceals his *Faults* with his *Person* : But when he struggles for an *Ascendant*, he only grasps at a *Sword* he cannot wield ; for he hath not an aim to direct the *Blow*, nor *Candor* to mitigate the *Edge* ; his elevated *Station* only makes his *Failures* the more visible, under an affected Smoothness dissembleth the most violent *Resolutions*, and grows wild in too large a Scope of Dominion : But You, *my Lord*, have a quite different Turn in Your *Disposition*, for as Your *Mint* conducted You to the *Ascent*, so an equal Temper assur'd Your *Footsteps*, and kept you steady when you arriv'd the Top ; so that You could look down from the *Precipice* of *Honour* without being giddy ; and what adds a *Lustre* to Your *Deserts*, *Majesty* it self plac'd you there, that You might be a *Blessing* to the present Age,

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Age, and an *Example* to Posterity; Your Promotion, as it was an *Act* of Grace, which flow'd from the *Throne* of *Cæsar*; so it was an Effect of that Exquisite Judgment which all the *World* acknowledgeth to be so remarkable in HIM. You could not lie long obscur'd, though you Industriously sought it; the *Fame* of Your *Goodness* scatter'd a Perfume by which you were pursued into Your *Retreats*; so that at last the *Regrets* of Your *Modesty* were forcibly overcome, and You were almost compelled to accept of that Dignity You were every way so well fitted to sustain; indeed, my Lord, it was almost impossible to decline the *Nice Remarks* of a *Wise* and *Discerning Prince*, who hath the quickest *Eye* to find out a transcendent Worth, and the most *generous Temper* to reward it; A *Prince* who hath the Goodness of *Trojans* and the Wit of all *Augustus* his Reign; the Image of the Deity is so closely impress'd upon him, that the *Idea* comes very near the Original, and the *Accomplishments* of *Body* and *Mind* make him the Best and most Agreeable of Mankind; All were in suspense upon whom this important *Charge* would be conferr'd, but when they heard that Your *Lordship* was the *Personage* they express'd their Satisfaction by the Loudness of their Joy, and seconded the *Royal Choice* with an *Universal Jubilee*; Your Happiness is now consummated

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summed for this Life, so that the next step You are to make must be to *Heaven* to receive *Immortality*; but it is the *Interest* of our *Wishes* to desire that this may be deferr'd; and that Your *Translation* may be late; for the *Acclamations* of the *People* are now chang'd into *Prayers*, that You may long continue to sit at the Helm of the purest and best *Reformed Church* upon *Earth*; and only lose Your hold through the *Infirmities* incident to a great *Old Age*, when You must expire into a *better World*, That so having brought the Vessel into a *Pacific Sea*, and all the *Turbulencies* are allayed, the *Conduct* of it may be left easie for Your *Successor*, who will Applaud the *Skill* of the former *Pilot*, who steered her through so many *Outragious Storms*, which on every side *Affail'd* her: But, my *Lord*, we will cease any farther to importune Your *Patience*, and abuse that *Goodness* which is so requisite to forgive us; therefore with the *humblest Prostrations* of *Reverence*, we kneel to Your *Grace*, and beg that You would bless our *Persons*, and countenance our *Endeavours*: And since I have this singular Honour done Me, to make my Court as *Proxy* for the rest of those worthy *Gentlemen*, who succeed in the Volume, I request a yet farther *Indulgence* for my self, that I may mix my own *Personal Respects* with those of the *Public*, and take this Opportunity

DEDICATORY.

nity to declare to the World, and Assure
Your Grace that I am with a most passionate
Devotion and the deepest Veneration possible
for Your Character and Person,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most

Obedient, most Faithful and

very Humble Servant,

M. Morgan.

THE

my to declare to the World, and Affirm
 Your Grace that I will a most pious
 Devotion and the deepest Veneration possible
 for Your Character and Person,

THE

PREFACE.

TIS requisite that some Account should
 be given of these Morals of Plu-
 tarch; the Biography of this great
 Man is already done by an incom-
 parable Hand, which hath glean'd up all the
 Memoirs that are extant of him, and prefix'd
 them to his Lives. The usefulness of this way
 of writing, is a thing so undoubted, that 'tis
 superfluous to recommend it, since no one ever
 objected to it, but the profligate Liver, whose
 interest it is to quarrel those Measures of Good
 which are prescrib'd him. For Morality teach-
 eth us the truest Maxims of Conduct for the
 regulation of our Manners, and furnisheth us
 with Antidotes against all our Passions, which
 not only qualifie the Venom, but entirely disperse
 it; it calms our Anger, and cools our Ambi-
 tion; it makes our Jealousies quiet, enspirits
 Fear, and chaseth away Sadness. But first,
 with the address of a Skilful Chirurgeon, it lays
 open the Sore in order to a Cure; it searches
 the sinuous Ulcer with a Probe, and makes Vice
 Odious

The PREFACE.

Odious by its natural Turpitude : Indeed, it draws the Scene hastily upon the Soul, and shews it in all its Deformities, before it hath time to palliate any of its Defects : As the best way to disabuse a Man of a fond Amour, is to surprize his Mistress in Dishabillee, before she hath put on her false Blushes, and adulterated her Cheeks : But then, when it hath expos'd the Blemishes, it mixeth up a Cosmetic to wash them off ; for it sets forth Vertue in such lively Colours, that 'tis the Question of a Blind Man to ask, What it is, since he whoever saw it thus represented, must needs be enamour'd of such a charming Object. It must be confest, That Plutarch had all the Qualifications to Accomplish him for being a Writer of this Kind ; for besides a vast stock of Natural Parts, and a great deal of acquired Learning, he was a Man of a sedate composed Temper : So that his Precepts were Streams which flow'd from a limpid Fountain within himself ; and he could not fail of instructing the World, since he could work off Impressions when he pleas'd, having the Original constantly by him. We find likewise that he consulted the best Authors, and some he mentions, which we value only by their loss, for they have never been transmitted down to us, but either have perish'd by the common Injury of Time, or the Barbarism of Succeeding Ages. He was conversant likewise with the most celebrated

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3
brated Poets, as Homer and Hesiod ; but his chief Favourites were Sophocles, Menander and Euripides : This last no doubt he admir'd, not only for the Sweetness, but the Chastity of his Verse, for he truly asserted the Reputation of Drammatic Poesy, and taught Vertue from the Stage, which is now not only become Ignoble, by the Gesture of Farce, but Debauch'd by the false Characters of Love and Honour, and the most fulsom Obscenities. It is very discernible, by the tenour of his Writings, that his way was that of a Common-Place-Book, and he made the best and truest Use of it of any Man ; for he never wrote down any thing that was frivolous, but it must have the Stamp of some Excellency that was worthy of his Observation. Here all the Riches of Wit were treasured up, so that when he had occasion to lay them out upon a Subject, his Quotations were nothing but strict Elegance, which not only were coincident with, but exceedingly adorned, his Province : So that what would seem Affectation and Pedantry in another Man, was in him a singular Talent ; all that can be said against his frequent Poetry is, That it sometimes interrupts the Translator, because it puts him upon a new Task, but it must be very diverting to the Reader, for it treats him with variety ; for after he is tir'd with Metaphors and Allusions in Prose (as a Man may be weary on Carpet-Ground if
the

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him, and which he bewails himself in one of his Epistles, that he was distracted by secular Avocations; for as he had Clasical, so he had political Abilities; so that the King preferr'd him to all the Dignities of the Long Robe, and made him a Master of his Requests: Thus by obliging him to follow the Court, threw him into all those Incommodities which are incident to that sort of Life, straitness of Lodging, and a very tedious Attendance. To say any thing of Erasmus, would be to detract from his Character; for his Merits surpass all Encomium; He had that flexible Genius, that he could accommodate it to any thing; for when the Solemnity of his Matter exacted it, he was very Grave and Serious, and then could be as Jocular, when the strokes of Raillery were necessary to Chastise the Monks, and lash them out of their Follies: His Style was of the first Delicacy, and the true Roman Stamp; he had that extraordinary pleasantness, that his Wit is the same in all Ages, and in all Languages; it is a rich Tincture drawn off without any Phlegm: He had only his Counterpart here in England, which was Sir Thomas Moore; they both seem to be born under the same jolly Influence; and the Sympathy of their Humour, conciliated a Correspondence, and strengthened a Friendship between them; indeed they reconcil'd two Things very inconsistent, which were, that one of that

The PREFACE.

stupid Climate should be Facetious, and a Chancellor a Droll, who drest up all things, even Death it self, burlesquely, and both liv'd and died in jest. The Version of Monsieur Amiot, Abbot of Belizane, is very laborious; for being encourag'd by the Favour of his Prince, Henry the Second, to whom he dedicates his Work; he had free Access into all the Libraries of Italy, that so by the Collation of Manuscripts, he might make it as correct as he could. As for our Country-man, Dr. Holland, it must be allowed him, that he understood Greek, but whoever reads his Translation, and is impartial, must say, that he was by no means a Master of the English Tongue; for besides that, he wants a Copia of Expression, there's no Politeness in it; so that his Instructions might be wholesom, but being convey'd in such an unpleasant Vehicle, are disgustful to the Reader; for having Skill in the Criticisms of Accent, without a tolerable insight into any thing else, he deserves no more applause for it, than a dull Judge ought to be commended for being a good Conveyancer, since in both Cases 'tis only a Refuge for those who have no other Endowments to give them a Name: His Pagasus was of the true Northern Strain, it serv'd to carry him out of the Dirt, and bring him to his Journey's End with an heavy Trot, but there was no Shape in the Beast, nor comeliness of sitting him
in

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the Walk is too long) there are the tunable Cadences of Verse to entertain him ; 'tis like Music betwixt the Acts, which serves to relieve the Audience, and prepare them with fresh Attention ; so that take him altogether, he appears like a piece of Mosaic Work, which consists of several Parts, but all extreamly Beautiful. As to the Versions of Plutarch, Xylander was an honest Pains-taker, and did his best, but he was one of those Anomolous Creatures, call'd a Verbal, and which my Lord Roscommon, in his Horace's Art of Poetry, that everlasting credit to blank Verse, saith, is too faithful a Translator ; besides the Roughness of his Latin, by confining himself to this starch'd Method, he leaves the Sense as perplex'd as he found it, and in some places 'tis so close and reserv'd, that it must be spun out with a latitude to give it any fineness. He that goes this way to Work, shall never make Plutarch Intelligible ; for his Periods sometimes are to be supply'd, great Chasms to be fill'd up, nay Transitions are to be made for him, that may conduct him gently from one Thought to another : The Decompounds especially require Periphrasis, they are like Boxes one within another, and you must take them all out, if you would shew any thing distinct ; but he that is so servilely Superstitious, that he will not deviate from his Author an Hairs breadth, must throw him all into a
buddle ;

The PREFACE.

buddle ; so that he may be justly upbraided with what Nero tax'd in the stile of Seneca, That it was an heap of Sand without any Cement to unite the Grains. Crusenius was somewhat loosned from this stiffness, but he seems to fall into the other extream, and is a little leaning towards the Fop ; for he makes an empty noise, and only abounds in words ; he hath that which the French call Brilliant, something that glitters, which attracts your admiration, but you are never the wiser. But Men of greater consideration have attempted this Author, as the Divine Grotius, Luscinius, Raphael, Johannes Regius, and the good-natur'd Melancton : his performance in this Case resembleth his Temper ; for 'tis easie and agreeable : But the Men who entirely carried off the Vogue from the rest were Budæus and Erasmus ; the first was a most exquisite Scholar ; they say of him, that he had that admirable faculty, that he could translate a Greek Book into Latin, and a Latin into Greek extempore, as they transfuse Liquors one into another, without losing the Spirit : He was a great restorer of Learning to the French Nation ; for he lived in the Time of Francis the First, who was a passionate promoter of it ; and when Princes espouse the Muses, they always thrive under such an auspicious Patronage, when the Reason and Hope of Reward for study, lies both in Cæsar. There is one thing to be lamented of him,

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Plutarch's

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in the Rider ; indeed he was so trite a Scribler, that Philemon at last became a Translator to a Proverb, and his Papers ought to have been condemn'd only to wrap up his own Medicines ; there is nothing survives remarkable of him, but the famous Story of the same Pen with which they say he transcrib'd all his Loads of Writing ; and if this is true, 'tis pity the Insect-Cabal was not oblig'd with such an immortal Relique, that it might be preserv'd amongst Ashmoles Rarities. It is alledg'd by some, that all of Plutarch ought not to be Translated, but only some select Chapters, which are purely Moral. But this seems to be an Objection only of those who go no further than the Titles ; and if they find some not so promising as they expected, hastily conclude, that nothing of importance is comprehended under them. But against Men of their Niceness, it may be justly contended, That the least Fragment in this wise Heathen, is of curious Remarque, and useful to be known ; he hath spread an Entertainment, with Provisions suitable to the various Palates of his Guests ; so that here is solid Nourishment for those of strong Complexions, and something more delicious for the effeminate Relish. As to Translations in general, it must be affirm'd, That 'tis not so easie an undertaking as some would imagine, and the cheap Buffoon would laugh himself into the Opinion of ; for it requires intense thinking to find out the Sense of an Author ; the Ore sometimes lies very deep ; and even when you

THE

have

THE PREFACE.

9 I have found the Vein, it will cost some labour to cleanse off the Dross, which is so complicated with the Metal, that the separation is very difficult; so that 'tis a long time before you can come to refine upon him; and then his meaning is to be cast into a fresh Mold; and there must be several turns of Thoughts before you can fit it with adequate Expressions: As the curious Architect throws away abundance of pieces, before he can meet with one that is regularly square to adjust into its place of the Building. There is one Apology to be made to the Reader, and we will abuse his patience no longer, which is, that the Chapters translated, are not ranked in the same Method as they are in Plutarch; but for this it may be said, That as it was a thing of Expedition, to work off those which first came to hand, so there is no Chronology in Morals; and if they are all printed at last, 'tis not material what Order they lie in now. This the Publisher engageth to do in Four Volumes more, to succeed this (to whom some Acknowledgments are due, for his being so industrious in collecting the best Versions, and sending them to the Undertakers) which will come out as fast as the Press can dispatch them; so that in a twelve-month's Time the World may expect to see the whole compleated.

M. M.

THE

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. I.

A Discourse touching the Breeding [and Conduct] of Children.

Translated from the Greek by

Simon Ford, D. D.

THE course which ought to be taken for the *Breeding of Free-born Children*, and the means whereby their manners may be rendred Vertuous, is that which, with the Readers leave, is to be the subject of our present Disquisition.

In the management of which, perhaps it may be expedient to take our rise from their very *Procreation*: I would therefore (in the first place) advise those who desire to become the Parents of famous and eminent Children, that they keep not company with all Women that they light on, I mean not such as are Harlots, or common Strumpets. For such Children as are blemished in their Birth, either by the Fathers or the Mothers side, are liable to be pursued as long as they live, with the indeleble Infamy of their base Extraction; as that which offers a ready occasion to all that desire to take hold of it, of reproaching and disgracing them therewith. So that it was a wise Speech of the Poet, who said,

Misfortune on that Family's entail'd,

Whose Reputation in its founder fail'd.

Wherefore since to be well born gives Men a good stock of Confidence, the consideration hereof ought to be of no small value to such who desire to leave behind them a lawful Issue. For baseness of Birth doth usually enfeeble and debase the Spirits of Men, answerably to their Original; as rightly said the Poet again,

*A bold and daring Spirit is often daunted,
When with the guilt of Parents crimes 'tis haunted.*

Of the Education of them.

As on the contrary, a certain loftiness and natural Gallantry of Spirit, is wont to fill the Breasts of those who are born of Illustrious Parents; of which *Diophantus* the Young Son of *Themistocles* is a notable instance, for he is reported to have made his boast often and in many companies, *that whatsoever pleased him, pleased also the Athenians; for that which he had a mind to, his Mother humoured him in, and his Father's Will was in all matters compliant with his Mother's: And the whole People of Athens were ruled by his.* Wherefore it was gallantly done of the *Lacedemonian* States, when they laid a round fine on their King *Archidamus* for Marrying a little Woman, giving this reason for their so doing, *That he meant to beget (of such a Wife) not Kings but Kinglings.*

The advice which I am in the next place about to give, is indeed no other then what hath been given by those who have undertaken this Argument before me. You will ask me what is that? 'tis this, *That no Man keep company with his Wife for Issue sake, but when he is Sober; as not having before either drunk any Wine, or at least not to such a quantity as to distemper him; for they usually prove Wine-bibbers and Drunkards, whose Parents begot them when they were drunk: wherefore*

fore *Diogenes* said to a Stripling somewhat Crack-brain'd and half witted : Surely young Man thy Father begot thee when he was drunk.

Let this suffice to be spoken concerning the *Procreation of Children*; and let us pass thence to their Education, and here (to speak summarily) what we use to say of Arts and Sciences, the same may be said concerning Vertue; that there is a concurrence of three things requisite to the compleating thereof in practise: Which are *Nature*, *Reason* and *Use*. Now by *Reason*, here I would be understood to mean *Learning*: And by *Use*, *Exercise*. Of these *Learning* assists *Nature* with the Principles, and *Industry* with the *Exercise*; and all joyned, contribute to the perfection thereof. And accordingly as either of the three is deficient, *Vertue* must needs be defective. For if *Nature* be not improved by *Learning*, it is blind: If *Learning* be not assisted by *Nature*, it is maim'd: And if *Exercise* fail of the Assistance of both, it is *Imperfect*, as to the attainment of its *End*. And as in Husbandry, it is first requisite that the Soil be Fertile, next that the Husbandman be skilful, and lastly, that the Seed he Sows be good: For here *Nature* resembles the Soil, the Instructor of Youth the Husbandman, and the Rational Principles and Precepts, which are taught, the Seed. And all these I peremptorily affirm to have met and joyntly conspired to the compleating the Souls of those Universally celebrated Men, *Pythagoras*, *Socrates* and *Plato*; together with all other whose eminent worth hath gotten them Immortal Glory. And happy is that Man certainly, and well beloved of the Gods, on whom by the bounty of any of them, all these are conferred.

And yet, if any one think that those in whom

Nature hath not throughly done her part, may not in some Measure make up her defects, if they be so happy as to light upon good teaching, and withal apply their own Industry towards the attainment of Vertue, he is to know that he is very much, if not altogether, mistaken. For as a good Natural Capacity may be impair'd by sloathfulness; so dull and heavy Natural Parts may be improv'd by Instruction; and whenas negligent Students arrive not at the Capacity of understanding the most easie things, those who are industrious conquer the greatest difficulties. And many instances we may observe, that gives us a clear demonstration of the mighty force and successful Efficacy of labour and industry. For Water continually dropping will wear hard Rocks hollow: Yea, Iron and Brass are worn out with constant handling. Nor can we, if we would reduce the Felloes of a Cart-wheel to their former straightness when once the Wheelwrights Industry hath fixed them in that crooked form: Yea, it is above the power of any forcible means to to straighten Horn, the (a) bended Staves sometimes used by Actors upon the Stage: So far is that which labour effects, tho preternatural, more potent then what is produced according to it. Yea, have we not many Millions of Instances more, which evidence the force of Industry? Let us see in some few that follow. A Mans ground is of it self good, yet if it be unmanured it will contract Barrenness; and by how much the better it was naturally, by so much will it be rendred the worse; if through carelessness it be ill Husbanded. On the other side, let a Mans ground be more than ordinarily rough and by their Augures, who probably being Acted upon the Stage, those that Acted them used those Staves.

(a) Gr.

Καμπύ-

λας ἤν

ὑποκεί-

των Βακ-

μείας: He

means

those

Staves

which the

Romans

called Li-

turi, used

by their Augures,

rugged;

rugged; yet experience tells us, that if it be well manured, it will be quickly made capable of bearing excellent Fruit: Yea, what sort of Tree is there which will not, if neglected, grow crooked and unfruitful, and what but will, if rightly ordered, prove fruitful, and bring its Fruit to Maturity? What strength of Body is there which will not lose its Vigour and fall to decay, by Laziness, nice Usage and Debauchery? and on the contrary, Where is the Man of never so crazy a natural Constitution, who hath not by giving himself to Exercise of Activity, and strength rendred himself more hardy and robust? What Horse well managed from a Colt, proves not easily governable by the Rider? And where is there one to be found which if not broken berimes, proves not stiff-necked and unmanageable? Yea, what is there more admirable then to see the wildest Beasts made tame, and brought to hand by Industry? And lastly, as to Men themselves, that *Theſſalian* answered not amiss, that being asked, *(b) Which of his Country-men were the meekest?* Those, said he, *(b) I suppose he means most governable;* that have received their discharge from the Wars.

to what preceds, and then the Answer intimates, that the discipline of War, being very strict and severe, habituateth Men to Obedience: Though *Erasmus* in his *Apothegms* (I know not from what other Author) makes the Question here to be quite of another import, *viz.* [*quinam essent Theſſalorum deterrimi?*] which I am sure *ἡπιώτατος* in our Author can never Countenance.

But what need of multiplying more words in this matter? when even the Notion of the the allusion of the Author here, but by this Circumlocution his words are as followeth [*καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἥθους ἐστὶ πολυχρόνιον: καὶ τὰς ἡθικὰς ἀρετὰς ἐθικὰς ἀνὴρ τις λέγει*] alluding to the vicinity of the two words [*ἥθος*] which in Greek signifies *Moral virtue* and

[190] which signifies *Custom*, from which affinity *Aristotle* argues that *Moral Vertues* are gotten by *Custom*, and not planted in our *Nature*. *Ethic. 2. c. 1.*

word [190] in the *Greek Language*, imports *continuance*; and he that shall call *Moral Vertues*, *customary Vertues*, speaks not incongruously? I shall conclude this part of my discourse therefore, with the addition of one only Instance more. *Lycurgus*, the *Lacedemonian Law-giver*, once took two Whelps of the same Litter, and ordered them to be bred in a quite different manner: whereby the one became scaveland ravenous, and the other of a good scent and skilled in Hunting; which done, a while after he took occasion thence in an Assembly of the *Lacedemonians* to discourse in this manner. *It is of great advantage (Fellow Citizens) to the attaining of Vertue, when any one by the customary practise of wholsom Instructions and Precepts, is trained up in a way of living conducive thereunto, which I will presently let you see by Example;* and withal, ordered the producing those two Whelps into the midst of the Hall, where also there were set down before them a Vessel wherein Meat was wont to be boiled, and a live Hare. Whereupon (as they had been bred) the one presently flies upon the Hare, and the other as greedily runs to the Vessel. And while the People were musing (as not perfectly apprehending what he meant by producing those Whelps thus) *This*, adds he, *is that I before told you; for you see these Whelps do as they were bred; for though they are both of one Litter, yet the diversity of breeding hath made the one a good Hound, and the other a Curr good for nothing but to lick Pots or Dishes.* And this shall suffice to be spoken concerning custom and different ways of living.

The next thing that falls under our consideration, is the *Nursing* of Children; which (in my Judgment) ought to be the *Mothers* work, by giving their own Breasts to those they have Born. For this Office will certainly be performed with more tenderness and carefulness by natural Mothers, who will love their Children the more intimately, by means of their care of them (as we say) *from the very first springing of their tender Nail*. Whereas the love of (both *(d)* dry and wet) *(d)* I know Nurses that they hire, love only for their pay: not how and are affected to their work, as ordinarily those to distinguish the that are substituted and deputed in the place of c- [τῆτ δαί] others, are. Yea, even nature seems to have assigned and [τεθ- the Suckling and Nursing of the Issue to those φοῖ] but that bear them: For which cause she hath bestowed upon every living Creature that brings forth young, Milk to nourish them withal. And by dry Nurses in conformity thereto, its Providence hath also which are wisely ordered it, that Women should have two the τεθοῖ, who feed Children with any nourishment ready for them. Though yet, if they food they had not that furniture, the very feeding their Children constantly with themselves, would render them are capable of, and the more kind and better affected to them. And wet Nurses (as we that not without reason: For constant feeding together, is a great means to heighten affection that give mutually betwixt any Persons: Yea, even Beasts them the when they are separated from those that have Breast who grazed with them, do in their way shew a resentment at parting. Wherefore (as I have said) are the Mothers themselves should strive to the utmost to τῆτ δαί, for τῆτ- δὸς is Nurse their own Children. But if they find it impossible to do it themselves, either because of bodily Mamma. weakness (and such a Case may fall out) or be-

cause they are apt to be quickly with Child again ; then are they to chuse the honestest Nurses they can get, and not to take whomsoever they have offered them. And the first thing to be looked after in this Choice, is, that they be bred themselves after the Greek fashion. For, as it is needful that the Members of Children be shaped aright as soon as they be born, that they may not afterwards prove crooked and distorted : So it is no less expedient, that their manners be well fashioned from the very beginning. For Childhood is a tender thing, and easily wrought into any shape : Yea, and the very Souls of Children readily receive the impressions of those things that are dropped into them ; even because they are yet but soft : But when they grow elder, will (as all hard things are) be more difficult to be wrought upon. And as soft wax is apt to take the stamp of the Seal, so are the minds of Children to receive the Instructions imprinted on them at that Age. Whence also it seems to me a good advise which Divine Plato gives to Nurses, *Not to tell all sorts of common Tales to Children in Infancy, lest thereby their minds should be in danger to be filled with foolish and corrupt Notions.* The like good Counsel doth Phocylides the Poet adventure to give in this Verse of his.

*If we'll have Vertuous Children, we should chuse
Their tendrest Age, good Principles t'infuse.*

Nor are we to omit the taking due care, that those Children who are appointed to attend upon such young Nurslings, and to be bred with them for Play-fellows, be in the first place well mannered, and next, that they speak plain natural Greek : but that being constantly used to converse with Persons of a barbarous Language, and evil Manners, they receive corrupt Tinctures from them.

For

For it is a true Proverb, that *he who lives with a
Lame Man, will learn of him to halt.*

* Next, when a Child is arrived at such an * Concerning the
Age, as to be capable of the teaching of *Pædago-* Teachers,
gues, here great care is to be used, that we be and teach-
not deceived in them, and so commit that trust to ing of
Slaves or Barbarians, or cheating Fellows. For it Children.
is a course never enough to be laught at, which
most Men now a days take in this affair, who if
any of their Servants be better than the rest, dis-
pose some of them to follow Husbandry, some to
Navigation, some to Merchandise, some to be Ste-
wards in their Houses, and some lastly, to put out
their Money to use for them: But if they find
any Slave that is a Drunkard or a Glutton, and un-
fit for any other business; to him they assign the
Government of their Children; whereas, a good
School-master ought to be such an one for his dis-
position, as (d) *Phœnix* Tutor to *Achilles* was.

(d) It ap-
pears by

his discourse of himself to *Achilles*, *Illiad*. 9. that he was well born :
and Homer calls him *ἵππιότατος ἄνθρωπος* an ancient Horseman, which
was in those days an honourable employment.

And now I come to speak of that which is a
greater matter, and of more concern than any
that I have said. We are to look after such
masters for our Children, as are blameless in their
lives, not justly reprovably for their manners, and
of the best experience in teaching. For the very
Spring and Root of Honesty and Vertue, lies in
the Felicity of lighting on good Education. And
as Husbandmen are wont to set Forks to Prop up
feeble Plants; so do honest School-masters Prop up
youth by careful Instructions and Admonitions, that
they may duly bring forth the Buds of good man-
ners. But there are certain Fathers now a days, who
deserve,

deserve, that Men should spit on them in Contempt, that before any proof made of those to whom they design to commit the teaching of their Children, either through unacquaintance, or (as it sometimes falls out) through unskilfulness intrust them with men of no good Reputation ; or it may be, such as are branded with Infamy although they are not altogether so ridiculous, if they offend herein through unskilfulness. But it is a thing most extreamly absurd, when as (oftentimes it happens) though they know and are told beforehand by those who understand better than themselves, both of the inability and debauchery of certain School-Masters ; yet either being overcome by their fair and flattering Speeches, or prevailed with to gratifie such Friends as speak on their behalf, they nevertheless commit the Charge of their Children to them, which is an Errour of like Nature with that of the sick man, who to pleasure his Friends forbears to send for a Physitian that might save his Life by his skill, and imployes a Mountebank, that quickly dispatcheth him out of the World : Or him, who refusing a skilful Ship-master, at his Friends entreaty, commits the Care of his Vessel to one that is therein much his Inferior. In the name of *Jupiter* and all the *Gods*, tell me, how can that man deserve the Name of a Father, who is more concerned to gratifie others in their requests, than to have his Children well Educated? Or, is it not rather fitly applicable to this Case, which *Crates* that ancient *Philosopher* was wont to say, that if he could get up to the highest place in the City, he would lift up his voice and make this Proclamation thence, *What mean you (Fellow Citizens) that you thus turn every stone to scrape Wealth together, and take so little care of your Children, to whom one day you must relinquish*

guish it all ; to which I would add this, that such Parents do like him that is sollicitous about his Shoo, but neglects the Foot that is to wear it. And yet many Fathers there are, that so love their Money and hate their Children, that lest it should cost them more than they are willing to spare, to hire a good School-Master for them, rather chuse such Persons to instruct their Children, as are of no worth ; thereby beating down the Market, that they may purchase a cheap Ignorance. It was therefore a witty and handsome jeer which Aristippus bestowed on a sottish Father, by whom being asked, what he would take to teach his Child ? he answered, a thousand Drachms. Whereupon the other crying out, O Hercules ! How much out of the way you ask ! for I can buy a Slave at that rate. Do then (said the Philosopher) and thou shalt instead of one, purchase two Slaves for thy Money ; him that thou buyest for one, and thy Son for another. Lastly, how absurd is it, when thou accustomest thy Children to take their food with their right hands, and chidest them if they receive it with their left, yet thou takest no care at all that the Principles that are infused into them, be right and regular.

* And now I will tell you (because it is well worth the hearing) what ordinarily is like to befall such prodigious Parents, when they have had their Sons thus ill nursed and worse taught. For when such are arrived at mans Estate ; and through Contempt of a sound and orderly way of living, shall precipitate themselves into all manner of disorderly and servile Pleasures : Then will those Parents dearly repent, when it is too late to amend it, and vex themselves even to distraction for those vicious Courses of their Children, unto which

* The mischiefs which attend upon the ill teaching of Children.

which their own neglect hath betrayed them. For then do some of those Children acquaint themselves with Flatterers and Parasites, a sort of infamous and execrable Persons, the very Pests that corrupt and ruin Young-men: others maintain insolent Strumpets, and earthly Harlots; others apply themselves to the more juvenile vices of deviling Married Women, and (e) all the debaucheries of *Bacchus his Festivals*; and are ready to purchase one bout of debauched Pleasure at the price of their lives, who had they but conversed with some Philosopher, would not perhaps have enslaved themselves to such courses as these, though possibly they might have Learned at least to put in practice the precept of *Diogenes* (delivered by him indeed in rude Language, but yet containing as to the scope of it a great truth) when he advised a Young-man to go, as a Spectator, into some publick shews that he might then inform himself by experience, how things of greatest value, and things of no worth at all in that place bore an (f) equal price.

(e) So I render
 ἀντοπο-
 ρῆντες;
 in the Au-
 thor; for
 those that
 celebrated
 the *Orgia*,
 or Drun-
 ken Festi-
 vals of
 that God,
 were wont
 to wear
 Ivy, or
 carry Fa-
 velins

with boughs of Ivy bound about them. (f) Ὅτι οἱ ἀναξίων τὰ πῦμα ἐδὲν διαρέγει. G. He means Men pay dear for foul Harlots.

The Bene-
 fits reaped
 from good
 Education.

In brief therefore, I say (and it may be what I say may justly challenge the repute of Oracles rather than Advices) that the chief thing considerable in this matter, and which comprizeth the beginning, middle and end of all, is good Education and regular Instructions; and that these two afford great helps and assistances towards the attainment of Vertue and Felicity. For all other good things are but human and of small value, such as will hardly recompence the Industry re-
 quired

quired to the getting of them. It is indeed, a desirable thing to be *well descended* : But 'tis of our Ancestors goods, not our own : *Riches* are valuable, but the Goods of Fortune (which frequently takes them from those that have them, and carries them to those that never so much as hoped for them :) Yea, the greater they are, the fairer mark are they for those to aim at, who design to make our bags their prize, I mean, evil Servants and Sycophants, and (which is the weightiest consideration of all) they are of such good things as may be enjoyed by the worst as well as the best of Men. *Glory* is a thing deserving respect, but unstable ; *Beauty* is a prize that Men fight to obtain, but when obtain'd, 'tis of little continuance ; *Health* a precious Enjoyment, but easily impair'd : *Strength*, a thing desirable, but apt to be the prey of Diseases and Old Age ; and that, which it is a great mistake in any Man, even whiles he enjoys it, to value himself upon ; for what indeed, is any proportion of human strength, if compared to that of other Animals, such as Elephants and Bulls, and Lyons ? But *Learning* alone, of all things in our possession, is Immortal and Divine ; and two things of there are that are most peculiar to human Nature, *The Praise* *ing.*
Understanding and *Reason* ; of which two, the *Understanding* is the Master of *Reason*, and *Reason* the Servant of the *Understanding*. Which is against all Assaults of Fortune impregnable ; not to be taken away by false accusation, nor impaired by sickness, nor enfeebled by Old Age. For the understanding only grows Youthful by Age, and Time which decays all other things, increaseth knowledge in us in our decaying Years. Yea War it self, which, like a torrent, bears down all other things before it, and carries them away with it, leaves

leaves learning only behind it to the possessor. Whence the answer which *Stilpo*, a Philosopher of *Megara* gave to *Demetrius*, seems to me very remarkable, who when he levelled that City to the ground, and made all the Citizens Bondmen, asked *Stilpo*, *Whether he had lost any thing?* *Nothing*, said he, *for War cannot Plunder Vertue.* To which saying, that of *Socrates* also is very agreeable; who when *Gorgias* (as I take it) asked him, *What his Opinion was of the King of Persia*, and *whether he judged him happy?* returned answer, *that he could not tell what to think of him, because he knew not how well he was furnished with Vertue and Learning*, as judging human felicity to consist in those endowments, and not in those which are subject to Fortune.

What fort
of Learn-
ing Chil-
dren are
to be
bred to.

Moreover, as it is my advice to Parents, that they make the breeding up of their Children to Learning, the chiefest of their care: So I here add, that the Learning they ought to train them up unto, should be sound and wholesom; and such as is most remote from those trifles which most suit the Popular humour. For that which most pleaseth the many, is displeasing to Men of understanding. To which saying of mine, that of *Euripides* himself attests [in his *Hippolytus*.]

*I'm better skill'd to treat a few my Peers,
Then in a crowd to tickle vulgar Ears:
Though others have the luck on't when they babble
Most, to the wise, then most to please the Rabble.*

Besides, I find by my own observation, that those Persons who make it their business to speak so as to deserve the favour and approbation of the scum of the People, ordinarily live at a suitable rate, voluptuously and intemperately. And there is rea-
son

son for it. For they who have no regard to what is honest, so they may make provision for other mens pleasures, will surely not be very propense to prefer what is right and wholesome, before that which gratifies their own inordinate pleasures and luxurious Inclinations, and quit that which humours them, for that which restrains them.

If any one ask, *What the next thing is wherein I would have Children instructed, and what further good Qualities I would have them inured unto?* I answer, that I think it advisable, that they neither speak, nor do any thing rashly: For (according to the Proverb) *The best things are most difficult.* But extemporary discourses are full of much ordinary and loose stuff; nor do such speakers well know how to begin, or when to make an end. And besides other faults which those who speak suddenly are commonly guilty of, they are commonly liable to this great one, that they multiply words without measure, whereas premeditation will not suffer a Man to enlarge his discourse beyond a due proportion. To which purpose it is reported of *Pericles*, that being often called upon by the People to speak, he would not: Because *he was* (as he said) *unprovided.* And *Demosthenes* also, who imitated him in the manage-ry of publick affairs, when the *Athenians* urged him to give his Counsel, refused it with this Answer, *I am not ready for it:* Though it may be that this story is a meer fiction, brought down to us by uncertain Tradition, without any credible Author. But whether it be so or no it matters not, seeing we are sure that in his *Oration* against *Medias*, he doth effectually set forth the usefulness of premeditation. For there he saith, *I confess, O ye Athenians, that I came hither provided to speak: and I will by no means deny that I have spent my utmost study upon the*

Of speak-
ing extem-
porarily.

compo-

composing this Oration. For it had been a pitiful Omission in me, if having suffered and still suffering such things, I should have neglected that which in this cause ought to be spoken by me. But here, I would not be understood altogether to condemn all readines to discourse *extempore*; nor yet to allow the use of it upon such occasions as do not require it, for we are to use it only as we do Physic, according to our present circumstances. But yet before a Person arrives at compleat Manhood, I would not permit him to speak upon any sudden incident occasion; though then having attained a radicated faculty of speaking well, he may allow himself a greater liberty, as opportunity is offered. For as they who have been a long time in Chains, and are at last set at liberty, through their former continual restraint, know not how readily to use their Limbs, but as soon as they attempt it, are very apt to tripp: So they who have been used to a fettered way of speaking a great while, if upon any occasion they be enforced to speak on a sudden, will hardly be able to express themselves, without some tokens of their former confinement. But to permit those that are yet Children to speak extemporarily, is to give them occasion to talk extream idly. *A wretched Painter* (they say) shewing *Apelles* a Picture, told him withal, that he had taken a very little time to draw it. If thou hadst not told me so, said *Apelles*, I see cause enough to believe it was an hasty draught: But I wonder that in that space of time, thou hast not drawn many more such Pictures.

As therefore (for I return now to the subject that I have digressed from) as I advise the shunning and avoiding of a Startcht, Theatrical and over-Tragical Form of Speaking: So do I also, that which is too low and mean. For that
which

which is too swelling, is not fit for the Management of publick Affairs : and that on the other side, which is too thin, is very unapt to work any notable impression upon the hearers. For as it is not only requisite that a Mans body be healthy, but also that it be of a firm Constitution : So ought a Discourse to be not only sound, but nervous also. And though such as is *composed cautiously*, may be commended, yet that is all it can arrive at : whereas (g) that which hath some *adventurous Passages* in it, ^{(g) Grd} is admired also. And my opinion is the same concerning the Affections of the Speakers mind. For he must neither be of a too confident, nor of a too mean and dejected Spirit : For that will endanger him to become impudent, and this, servile ; betwixt which two, there is much of an Orators Art required, to direct his course with Circumspection. ^[Tδ ε επιεικὲς,] which, as opposed to [ἀσφαλὲς] that *safe* (which I render *composed cautiously*) must needs imply *adventurousness* on some unusual words or phrases to set off a Discourse, which run the hazard of more censure from an Auditory.

And now (whilst I am handling this point concerning the Instruction of Children how to speak) I will also give you my Judgment concerning the *frame of a discourse* ; which is this, that to compose it in all Parts uniformly, is not only a great Argument of a defect in Learning : but also exposeth the Speaker to the hazard of nauseating his Auditory, and glutting their Appetites by the constant use of it. For to sing always the same Tune (as we say) in whatever way it be, is cloying and offensive ; but Men are generally pleased with variety, as in Speeches and Pageants, so in all other Entertainments. Wherefore though we ought not to permit an ingenious Child to be without any sort of Learning, no not of the

(i) most

(i) Gr. (i) *most trivial Arts*, so far as it may be gotten by
 [Ἐγκυκλίων παι- Lectures of that nature, or from publick shews :
 δευμά- yet I would have him to salute such only, as in
 πον] his passage, taking a bare taste (seeing no Man
 can possibly attain to perfection in all) of each
 of them : but to give *Philosophy* the pre-eminence
 of them all : as (to illustrate what I say with
 this similitude) Men are desirous to see many
 Cities for their pleasure : but chuse, for their pro-
 fit, to fix their dwelling in the best. Ingenious
 also (to this purpose) was the saying of *Bias* the
 Philosopher, that as the Wooers of *Penelope*, when
 they could not have their desire of the Mistress,
 contented themselves to have to do with her
 Maidens : So commonly those Students who are
 not capable of understanding Philosophy, spend
 their time in the Study of those Sciences that are
 of no value. Whence it follows that we ought
 to make Philosophy the chief of all our Lear-
 ning. For though, in order to the welfare of
 the Body, the Industry of Men hath found out
 two Arts, that of *Medicine*, which assists to the
 Recovery of lost Health ; and that which Teach-
 eth *Exercises of Activity*, which helps us to attain a
 sound Constitution : Yea, there is but one Art
 only capable of curing the Distempers and Diseases
 of the Mind, and that is *Philosophy*. For by the
 advise and assistance thereof it is, that we come
 to understand what is honest, and what dishonest :
 what is just, and what unjust : In a word, what
 we are to desire, and what to avoid. We learn
 how we are to demean our selves towards the
 Gods, towards our Parents, our Elders, the Laws,
 Strangers, Governours, Friends, Wives, Children
 and Servants. That is, to Worship the Gods,
 to Honour our Parents, to Reverence our Elders,

to be Subject to the Laws, to Obey our Governours, to Love our Friends, to use Sobriety towards our Wives, to be Affectionate to our Children, and not insolently to Injure our Servants: and (which is the chiefest Lesson of all) not to be overjoyed in Prosperity, nor too much dejected in Adversity: not to be dissolute in our Pleasures, nor in our Anger to be transported with brutish Rage and Fury. These things I account the principal advantages which we gain by Philosophy. For to use prosperity generously, is the part of a Man, to manage it so as to decline envy, of a well governed Man; to master our pleasures by Reason, is the property of wise Men: and to moderate anger is the attainment only of extraordinary Men. But those, of all Men, I count most compleat, who know how to mix and temper the managery of civil Affairs with Philosophy: Seeing they are thereby Masters of two of the greatest good things that are, the promoting publick felicity by governing well, and the enjoying a calm tranquility in their own Bosoms, by improving Philosophical Principles. For whereas there are three sorts of Lives (or rather ways of living) the *Active*, the *Contemplative*, and the (i) *Frutive*; (i) *Gr.* he that lives the last of these, is a dissolute slave [*ἀπολδυστικός*] the life of such Men as design nothing but the pleasing and gratifying their own humours and lusts; which they call *enjoying themselves*, is very emphatically expressed in that word, and therefore I endeavoured to humour it in the English.

to his pleasures, a brutish and low-spirited Man. He that spends his time in *Contemplation*, without *Action*, is an unprofitable Man; and he that lives in *Action*, and is destitute of *Philosophy*, is a rustical Man, and commits many absurdities. Wherefore

we are to apply our utmost endeavour to enable our selves for both, that is to manage publick employments, and withal, at convenient seasons, to give our selves to Philosophical Studies. Thus did *Pericles* and *Archytas* of *Tarentum*; thus did *Dion* of *Syracuse* and *Epaminondas* of *Thebes*, administer publick Affairs. (k) Each of whom was of *Plato's* familiar acquaintance. though it make no matter which reading we follow; for they were all of the *Plato's* contemporaries.

(k) Or (as others) each of which two;

(l) Here I think it not necessary to spend many more the *Original Greek* words about this point, the *Instruction of Children in Learning*. Only, it may be profitable, at least, if not rather necessary, not to omit the procuring words to for them the Writings of ancient Authors; but compleat to make such a Collection of them, as Husbandmen the sense, are wont to do (l) of all the necessary Instruments for which I thought fit that Employment. For of the same Nature, is the to supply use of Books to Scholars, as being the Tools and Instruments of Learning. And withal, it is convenient to derive knowledge from its proper Fountains.

Of Children. Next for the *Bodies* of Children, it is not drens *Bodily Exercises*. meet to neglect the *Exercise* of them neither: But to send them to such Schools where they may have sufficient employment that way also. Which will conduce partly to the more handsom carriage of them, and partly to the improvement of their strength. For the Foundation of a vigorous Old Age, is a good Constitution of the Body in a Mans Childhood. Wherefore, as it is expedient to provide those things in a calm, which may be useful to the Marriners in a Storm: So is it, To keep good order, and govern our selves by Rules of Temperance in Youth; the effects whereof, are the

the best provision we can lay in for Age. Yet must they husband their strength so, as that by the too violent Exercises of Youth they spend not their radical moisture, and through bodily infirmity be disabled cheerfully to follow their Studies. For (according to Plato) *Sleep and Weariness are Enemies to the Arts.*

But why do I stand so long on these things; and not rather, as I desire, hasten to that which is chiefly to be done beyond all that has been said? Among the Exercise of Children therefore, I would have them enured to such contests as have some resemblance of War: that is to contend in throwing of Darts, shooting of Arrows, and hunting of wild Beasts, in which last (as in War) the goods of the Conquered, are proposed as Rewards to the Conquerors. And War will not agree with a gross Constitution of Body, pamper'd up by living always in the Shade. For (m) one lean Soldier (m) This that hath been used to Military Exercises, shall overthrow whole Troops of such Enemies as are acquainted with no contests, but Fencings and Wrestling in a Theater. But (may somebody say) whilst you profess to give precepts for the Education of all Free-born Children, why do you carry the matter so, as to seem only to accommodate the Author [ισχυρός ὁ ἐξελθὼς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων ἐδάς, ἀθλητῶν, καὶ πολημίων παλαῖστας διδοεῖ.] I could not find how to render into English, so as to suite the scope of the annexed Sentences, but with this paraphrastical enlargement; which yet I take to express the full meaning of the Philosopher here. For it is plain, that he opposeth those πολέμοι, that are ἀθληταί, to those that are used to the πολεμικοὶ ἀγῶνες, which he before commends to ingenious Youths, to fit them for the Wars; such as shooting and killing wild Beasts. But if herein I be mistaken, the learned Reader is not obliged to my Interpretation, but by consulting the Greek himself, may use his liberty to correct it with a better.

The Answer to an Objection, that poor men are not able to breed their Children *thus*.

date those Precepts to the Rich, and neglect to sute them also to the Children of Poor Men and Plebeians? To which Objection, it is no difficult thing to return by way of Answer. That it is my desire that all Children whatsoever might partake of the benefit of Education alike: but if yet any Persons, by reason of the narrowness of their Estates, cannot make use of my Precepts, let them not blame me that give them, but Fortune, which disableth them from making the advantage they otherwise might, by them. Though yet even poor Men must use their utmost endeavour to give their Children the best Education; or if they cannot, they must bestow upon them the best that their abilities will reach.

Against the Whipping of Children.

And how Reproofs and Commendations are to be used.

Thus much I thought fit here to insert, in the body of my Discourse, that I might the better be enabled to annex what I have yet to add concerning the right way of *Discipline* to be used towards Children. I say therefore, that Children are rather to be won to follow their Studies by Exhortations and rational Motives, then forced thereto by whipping, or any other contumelious Punishments. For such usage seems to be more agreeable to Slaves, then to ingenuous Children. For they when thus handled, are dulled and discouraged from the performance of their Tasks; partly, by reason of the smart of their stripes; and partly, because of the disgrace thereby inflicted. But Praises and Reprehensions are more effectual upon Free-born Children, then any such disgraceful handling: the former, to incite them to what is good, and the latter to restrain them from that which is evil. But we must use Reprehensions and Commendations alternately, according to the variety of occasions: so that when they grow petulant, they be

be shamed by reprehension ; and again when they better deserve it, be encouraged by commendations. Wherein we ought to imitate Nurses, who when they have made their Infants cry, stop their Mouths with the Nipple, to quiet them again. Useful it is also, not to give them such large commendations, as to puff them up with pride : for this is the ready way to fill them with a vain conceit of themselves, and corrupt their manners.

Moreover, I have seen some Parents, whose too much love to their Children, hath occasioned, in truth, their not loving them at all. I will give light to this assertion by an Example, to those who ask what it means. 'Tis this, while they are over-hasty to advance their Children in all sorts of Learning beyond their equals, they set them to hard and laborious Tasks, whereby they fall under discouragement, and that with other inconveniencies accompanying it, causeth them in the Issue, to be ill affected to Learning it self. Against
overtask-
ing of Chil-
dren.

For as Plants by moderate watering are nourished, but with overmuch moisture are glutted : So is the Spirit improved by moderate labours, but overwhelmed by such as are excessive. We ought therefore to give Children some Respiration from their constant labours : as considering that all human life is divided betwixt business and relaxation. To which purpose it is, that we are not only inclined by nature to wake, but to sleep also : that as we have sometimes Wars, so likewise at other times Peace : as some foul, so other fair days : and as seasons of important business, so also the vacation times of Festivals : and (to contract all in a word) *Rest is the Sauce of Labour.* Nor is it thus in living Creatures only, but in things inanimate too. For even in Bows and Harps, we loosen their Strings, that

that we may bend and wind them up again. Yea, it is universally seen, that as the Body is maintained by Repletion and Evacuation, so is the mind by employment and relaxation.

Parents

must examine frequently their Childrens Proficiency.

Those Parents, moreover, are to be blamed, who when they have committed their Sons to the Instruction of Teachers, or School-Masters, do seldom or never see them perform their Tasks, or hear them give an account of their Lessons: wherein they fail much of their Duty. For they ought ever and anon, after the intermission of some days, to make Trial of their Childrens proficiency: and not intrust their hopes of them only to the conduct of a Mercenary. For even that sort of Men will take more care of the Children, when they know themselves at every such Season are so to be called to account. Whereunto the saying of that *Kings Groom*, is very agreeable, who told his Master, that *nothing so much made his Horse fat, as his Eye*.

Childrens Memories chiefly to be exercised.

But we must most of all exercise and keep in constant employment the Memory of Children: for that is, as it were, the Store-house of all Learning. Wherefore the Methologists (or Writers of fabulous History) have made *Menemosyne* (or Memory) the *Mother of the Muses*; plainly intimating thereby, that nothing doth so beget or nourish Learning as Memory doth. Wherefore we must imploy it to both those purposes, whether the Children be naturally apt, or backward to remember. For so shall we both strengthen it in those of whom nature in this respect hath been bountiful, and supply that to other, wherein she hath been deficient: And as the former sort of Boys will thereby come to excel others, so will the latter sort themselves. For that of *Hesiod* was well said,

Of little add to little, and th' account

Will swell : heapt Atomes thus produce a mount.

Neither therefore let the Parents be ignorant of this, that the exercising of Memory in the Schools doth not only give great assistance towards the Attainment of Learning : But also to all the Actions of Life. For the remembrance of things past affords us examples in our Consults about things to come.

Besides, Children ought to be made to abstain from speaking filthily : seeing (as *Democritus* said) *Words are but the shadows of Actions*: They are moreover to be instructed to be *affable* and *courteous* in discourse. For nothing is so odious, as the manners of those Men, whom others know not how to speak to. And one way also, to render Children acceptable to others in Conversation, is this ; if they be not pertinaciously bent to maintain all they say in dispute. For it is of use to a man to understand not only how to overcome, but also how to give ground, when to Conquer would turn rather to his disadvantage : For there is such a thing sometimes as a *Cadmean Victory* ; to which the wise *Euripides* attesteth, when he saith,

Where two Discourse, if the ones Anger rise,

The man who lets the Contest fall, is wise.

Add we now to these things some other, which Children ought to have no less care of, yea, rather indeed, greater. To wit, that they avoid *luxurious Living*, *bridle their Tongues*, *subdue anger*, and *refrain their hands*. Of how great moment each of these Counsels is I now come to enquire, and we may best judge of them by Examples. To begin with the last, some men there have been,

who

(o) The story is related by our Author at large in the *Life of Lysander*. It is this, *Lysander* sent by *Gylippus* to the *Ephori*, or chief Magistrates of *Sparta*, a great sum of money sealed up in Bags. *Gylippus* unsows the Bags at the bottom, and takes out what he thinks fit out of each Bag, and sows them up again. But

was discovered, partly, by the Notes, which were put in the Bags by *Lysander*, mentioning the sums in each Bag: and partly by his own Servant, who when the Magistrates were solicitous, to find what was become of the Money that was wanting, told them jestingly, That there were a great many *Owls* under the Tiles at his Master's house; (for the Money had that bird, as the badge of *Athens*, where it was Coyned, stamped on it) whither they sent, and found it.

who by opening their hands to take what they ought not, have lost all the honour they got in the former part of their Lives. So (o) *Gylippus*, the *Lacedemonian*, for unsowing the publick Money-bags, was condemned to Banishment from *Sparta*. And, to be able also to subdue Anger, is the part of a wise man: For such an one was *Socrates*, who when an *Hectoring* and debauched young man rudely kickt him, so that those in his Company being sorely offended, were ready to run after him, and call him to account for it; What, said he to them, if an *Ass* had kicked me, would you think it handsomly done to kick him again? And yet the young man himself escaped not unpunished; for when all Persons reproached him for so unworthy an Act, and gave him the Nick-name of *Λακτιστής* (or the Kicker) he changed himself. The same *Socrates*, when *Aristophanes* publishing his Play which he calls *Μέγικλος* (or the Clouds) therein threw all sorts of the foulest Reproaches upon him; and a Friend of his, who was present at the acting of it, repeated to him what was there said in the same Comical manner, asking him withal, Does not this Offend you, *Socrates*? Not at all, answered he; For I can as well bear with a Fool in a Play, as at a great Feast. And something of the same Nature is reported to have been done by *Archytas* of *Tarentum*, and *Plato*. Of whom, the one (*Archytas*) when upon his re-

turn from the War (wherein he had been General) one informed him, that his Land had been impaired by his Bayliffs negligence, sent for him and said only thus to him when he came, *If I were not very angry with thee, I would severely correct thee.* And the other (*Plato*) being offended with a fine mouthed and debauched Servant, called to him *Spen-sippus* his Sisters Son, and said unto him, *Go beat thou this Fellow, for I am too much offended with him, to do it my self.*

These things, you will perhaps say, are very difficult to be imitated. I confess it, but yet we must endeavour to the utmost of our Power, by setting such Examples before us, to repress the Extravagancy of our immoderate furious Anger. For neither are able to equal them in many other Instances, wherein their wisdom and vertue excels ours; but we do nevertheless (*p*) (as the sacred (*p*) Gr. Interpreters of Divine Mysteries, and the *Priests [*ἱερεῖς* of Wisdom] so far as we are able, follow their Ex-
*Θεῶν ἱε-
 ροῦνται,
 καὶ διδασ-
 χεῖ τῆς σοφίας.]* * *Δαδῆχοι* So the Priests of *Ceres* were called from their bearing Torches at her Nocturnal Solemnities, in imitation of *Ceres*, when she went to seek her Daughter *Persephone*. [*περιχιζεῖν*] this word the Annotator upon *Xylanders* Edition tells us he knows not what to make of: and suspects it should be *περιχιζεῖν*, to follow anothers Steps; which indeed were here very proper; but because that the word is rarely, if at all to be found, I thought fit to render its former, by a Periphrasis suiting the Scope of the Author, and the Signification. For *περιχιζω*, signifies to scrape round, as they do, who file Metals.

And, as to the *Bridling* of the *Tongue*, concerning which also I am obliged to speak, if any man think it a small matter, or of mean Concernment, he is much mistaken. For it is a point of

of Wisdom, to be silent when occasion requires ; and better than to speak, though never so well. And in my Judgment, for the reason, the Ancients instituted *mystical Rites* of initiation in Religion ; that being in them accustomed to silence, we might thence transfer the fear we have of the Gods to the fidelity required in human Secrets. Yea, indeed, experience shews, that no man ever repented of having kept silence ; but many that they have not done so ; and a man may when he will, easily utter, what he hath by silence concealed ; but it is impossible for him to recal what he hath spoken. And moreover, I can remember infinite Examples that have been told me, of those that have procured great damages to themselves, by the Intemperance of the Tongue : Of which omitting all the rest, I will give for a Proof, only one or two Instances. When *Ptolemy Philadelphus* had taken his Sister *Arfinoe* to Wife, *Sotades* for breaking an

(q) εἰς ἔχ
ωσίην τρυ-
μαλὴν τὸ
κέντρον
ὠδῆς.

(q) *obscene Jest* upon him, lay languishing in Prison a great while ; a Punishment which he deserved for his unseasonable babbling, whereby to provoke Laughter in others, he purchased a long time of Mourning to himself. Much after the same rate, or rather worse of the two, did *Theocritus* the *Sophister* both talk and suffer. For when *Alex-*

(r) He
gave Alex-
ander, by
this ex-
pression
occasion
to be con-
scious to
some de-
sign a-
gainst his
Life.

ander commanded the *Grecians* to provide him a *Purple Robe*, wherein upon his Return from the Wars, he meant to sacrifice to the Gods in gratitude, for his Victorious Success against the *Barbarians* ; and for that purpose received a Sum of Money from the Nation, under his Command : I doubted formerly (said he) what *Homer* meant by that frequent Phrase of his (r) πορφυρεὶ θανάτῳ (or *Purple death*) but now I understand him. By which Speech, he, from that time forwards, made

made the King his Enemy. The same Person provoked *Antigonus* the King of Macedonia, to great wrath by reproaching him with his defect, as *having but one Eye*. Thus it was, *Antigonus* Commanded *Europion* his Master-Cook (then in waiting) to make up some Accounts with this *Theocritus*; who often resorting to him upon that business, and telling him he came by the Kings Command; *I know, said he, that thou hast a mind to displease me up raw to that Cyclops*; reproaching therein, at once, both the King his Master, with the want of his Eye, and the Cook his Servant, with his employment. To which *Eutropian* replied [*My Master indeed wants an Eye, but*] *it shall not be long ere thou want an Head, for the wideness and rudeness of thy Mouth*. And he was as good as his word, for he departed and informed the King, who sent and put *Theocritus* to death.

Besides all these things, we are to accustom Children to *speak the Truth*, and to account it, as indeed it is a matter of Religion to do so. For lying is a Servile quality, deserving the hatred of all mankind: Yea, a fault which we ought not to forgive our meanest Servants themselves.

* Thus have I discoursed hitherto, concerning * About the *well-breeding of Children*, and the *Sobriety requisite to that Age*, without any dispute or doubt in my self, concerning any thing that I have said. But in what is to be said, I am dubious and divided in mine own thoughts; which (as if they were laid in a Ballance) sometimes incline this, and sometimes that way: nor can I tell which side is heaviest, wherefore I am thus slowly brought to it, as being loath to perswade or dissuade in that matter. But I must adventure at least to give an Answer to him that asks, *What is it that holds thee thus*

about Pederasty or the making Love to Boys.

(s) I do not think the Defenders and Practisers of this opinion, among the Philosophers did intend amiss in it; and therefore am loath to fix any note of censure upon them, who were the strictest observers of *Morality*, the Heathens ever had: and its probable 'twas only an immoderate desire of propagating vertue (the utmost aim of a great mind) that put them upon this kind of amours. *Plutarch* seems unwilling to enter upon the question, and mentions it with much candor: but yet (methinks) seems to censure too severely the Parents, who were in this point cautious of their Sons Reputation; considering how infamous this conversation was, even among the *Grecians*, and how ill *Alcibiades* was reputed of for his love to *Socrates*, and *Socrates* himself too, for his sake, and the choice of the most beautiful Children by Philosophers for this Courtship, and the Rivalties they encountred; together with the expressions of *Dalliance* which they used to them, nothing different from those which ordinarily are bestowed by Wooers on the other Sex: gave too much occasion to the Wits of those times, to expose them, as justly suspicious of the foulest of Vices; who (under what ever pretence of Love to their Souls, and design to ingratiate their Philosophical Counsels the better to them thereby) thus kept them Company. And it was certainly (were they indeed never so innocent) a great Scandal on their parts, given to others, that made ill use of their Examples.

ther such men, who have approved those Masculine Loves; and have brought up young men thereby to Learning, publick Employments, and
vertuous

vertuous living; I am again of another mind, as being much enclined by the zeal I have for the honour of such great Persons. And the Testimony also of *Euripides* is favourable hereto, who saith,

*A Love there is, which this Skin-Love controll's,
Fixed on just, and chaste and vertuous Souls.*

And yet I think it not improper, here to mention withal, that saying of *Plato*, spoken betwixt Jest, and Earnest, that *Men of great Eminency must be allowed to shew kindness to what beautiful Objects they please*. To Compose this matter, therefore I thus determine. That Parents are to keep off such as make Beauty the Object of their Affection, and admit altogether such as direct the love to the Soul, whence such Loves are to be avoided, as are in *Thebes* and *Eli*; and that Sort which in *Crete* they call by the name of Rapture: And such to be imitated, as are in *Athens* and *Sparta*. But in this matter, let every man follow his own Judgment.

Thus far have I discoursed concerning the right ordering and decent Carriage of Children, I will now pass thence, to speak somewhat concerning the next Age, that of *Youth*. For I have often blamed the evil Custom of some, who when they have committed the Infancy of their Children, to the inspection of Masters and Governours, extend the care of them no farther, but suffer the heats of Youth to spend themselves under no restraint: whereas indeed Children in that Age do most need to be kept under a stricter Guard than ordinary: for who is there that knows not that the Errors of Childhood are small, and generally capable of being amended,
such

(1) Gr. such as, slighting their Masters, or (2) disobedience to their Instructions. But when they begin to grow towards maturity, their offences are oftentimes very great and hainous, such as Gluttony, Pilfering money from their Parents, Dicing, Revellings, Drunkenness, Courtings of Maidens, and Defilings of Marriage-Beds. Wherefore, it is expedient that such impetuous heats should with great care be kept under and restrained. For the ripeness of that Age, admits no bounds in its Pleasures, is skittish, and needs a Curb to check it: so that those, who do not about that time with great strength hold them in, are forced against their Wills, to give their vicious Inclinations their full swinge in the pursuit of the vilest Actions. Wherefore, it is a Duty incumbent upon wise Parents, in that Age especially, to set a strict watch upon them; and keep them within the bounds of Sobriety, by Instructions, Threatnings, Intreaties, Counsels, Promises; and laying before them Examples, of those men on one side, who by immoderate love of Pleasures have brought themselves into great mischiefs; and those, on the other, who by Abstinence in the pursuit of them, have purchased to themselves very great Praise and Glory. For these *two* things (*Hope of Honour, and Fear of Punishment*) are in a sort, the first Elements of Vertue: The *former* whereof spurs men on, the more eagerly to the pursuit of honest Studies: And the *latter* blunts the edge of their Inclinations to vicious Courses. And in summ, it is necessary to restrain young men from the Conversation of Debauched Persons, lest they take Infection from their evil Examples. A thing which (among others) *Pythagoras* taught in certain *Enigmatical Sentences*: which I shall here

here relate and expound, as being greatly useful to further vertuous Inclinations. Such as these, [*Taste not of Creatures that have black Tails*] that is, Converſe not with Men that are ſmattered with vicious Qualities [*Stride not over the Beam of a pair of Scales :*] Wherein he teacheth us the regard we ought to have for Juſtice, ſo as not to go beyond its meaſures. [*Sit not on a (u) Chania*] (u) A meaſure among the Græcians, containing about the fourth part of a peck ; or, as ſome ſay, ſo much as was allowed one man for a days food. Wherein he forbids ſloth, and requires us to take care to provide our ſelves of neceſſaries for a Livelyhood. [*Do not ſtrike hands with every man.*] He means we ought not to be over haſty to make Acquaintances or Friendſhips with others. [*Wear not a ſtreight Ring.*] That is, we are to labour after a free and undepending way of living, and not to be indebted to others. [*Stir not up the Fire with a Sword.*] Signifying that we ought not to provoke one more, who is angry already (as being an Act of great indecency) but rather comply with them while their Paſſion is in its heat. [*Eat not of an Heart.*] Which forbids to afflict our Souls, and ſpend our Spirits with vexatious Cares. [*Abſtain from Beans.*] That is, keep out of publick Offices : for anciently, new Magiſtrates were choſen, and the old diſcharged by Suffrages, numbered by Beans. [*Put not food in a Chamber-Pot :*] Wherein he declares the unſutableneſs of a good Diſcourſe (ſuch as is fit to nourish the mind) to one whoſe mind is prepoſſeſſed with vicious Habits : as that which is endangered to defilement from ſuch men. [*When Men are arrived at the Goal, they ſhould not return back again ;*] that is, thoſe who are near the end of their days, and ſee the Period of their Lives approaching, ought to entertain it contentedly, and not be grieved at it.

Against
Flatterers
of Young
Men.

But to return from this Digression, our Children, as I have said, are to be debarred the Company of all evil Men; but especially *Flatterers*: For it is that which I have often said, and in the presence of divers Fathers (and the same I persevere to affirm) that there is not a more pestilent sort of Men than those, nor any that doth more certainly and speedily hurry Youth into Precipices; yea, they utterly destroy both Fathers and Sons, making the Old Age of the one, and the Youth of the other full of Sorrow, while they cover the Hook of their evil Counsels to those that consult them, with the unavoidable bait of Voluptuousness. Parents, when they have good Estates to leave their Children rich, exhort them to Sobriety, these reduce them to Drunkenness; those to Continence, these to Lasciviousness; those to good Husbandry, these to Prodigality; those to Industry, these to Sloathfulness. And usually entertain them with such Discourses as these. *The whole Life of Man is but a small point of Time; let us enjoy it therefore while it lasts, and not spend it to no purpose. Why should you so much regard the Fathers displeasure, an old dotting Fool, with one Foot already in the Grave, and 'tis to be hoped it will not be long 'ere we carry him thither altogether.* And some of them there are who procure young men foul Harlots; yea, (w) prostitute

(w) Or as some read Wives to them; and by that means make a prey [περιπαύ- of those things which the careful Fathers have pro-
πειουσ] in- vided for the Sustenance of their old Age.
stead of

περιπαύουσ, call them by the Name of Wives; but the vulgar Reading is the better (in my Judgment) as intimating the fordidness of some *Flatterers*, who to insinuate themselves the more into those, they hope to make a Prey of, have prostituted their own Wives to them, of these our Author in his ἐπεὶ οὐκ gives us divers Instances.

(x) *A nasty Tribe! true Friendships Hypocrites;
 (As like the Dying) they do poor Men fly;
 But wealth (as Wasps doth Honey) them invites;
 Whose Servile Spirits ne'er tasted Liberty,
 That dance about ungovern'd Youth in swarms,
 And play the Tune, that their affections charms.
 Who eccho Laughters, where they have their food,
 Whose Souls are changlings, Apes of human kind
 Whose Lives are govern'd by each potent nod;
 By Fortune not enslav'd, but their own mind;
 Th' Anvils of Raillery; so to it us'd,
 That when they're not, they think they're most abus'd.*

Wherefore, if Fathers have any care for the well Breeding of their Children, they ought to drive such foul Beasts as these, out of Doors: As also the vicious qualities of those that are bred with them, which are able to corrupt the most ingenious Dispositions.

These Councils which I have now given, are of great worth and importance. Those I have to add, are only matters of civil Advice, again therefore I would not have *Fathers* to be of an over-rigid and harsh Temper; but so mild as to forgive some (y) slips of Youth, remembering that they themselves were once of that Age. But as Physicians are wont to mix their bitter Medicines with sweet Syrups, and of that which is pleasant, make a Vehicle for that which is wholesome: So should Fathers temper the keenness of their Reproofs with Lenity: Letting their Children take some Liberties they are inclined to, without restraint, and again when it is fit, managing them with a straighter Bridle. But chiefly

(x) This Paragraph in our Author is written in so Poetical a stile that (although he name not the Author whence he had it, yet) I guess he had it from some Poet, and Translated it accordingly.

How Parents must array themselves towards their Children.

(y) Or (as others Read) former faults Gr. [πρὸν τέρπον] for νεοτέρων.]

should they bare their Errours without Passion, if it may be ; but if they chance to be heated more then ordinary, they ought not to suffer the flame to burn long. For it is better that a Fathers Anger be hasty, then lasting ; because the heaviness of his wrath joyned with unplacableness is no small Argument of hatred towards the Child.

All Faults in Children, not to be taken notice of.

It is good also, not to discover the notice they take of divers Faults, and to transfer that dimness of Sight, and heaviness of Hearing, that is wont to accompany old Age, prudently to serve them in such cases, so as not to hear sometimes what they hear, nor see what they see of their Childrens miscarriages. We use to bear with some failings in our Friends : and 'tis no wonder, if we do the like to our Children : especially when we sometimes overlook the Intemperances of our very Servants. Thou hast at times been too straight-handed to thy Son, make him at other whiles a larger allowance : Thou hast (it may be) been too angry, pardon him the next Fault to make him amends. He hath made use of a Servants Wit to circumvent thee in something ; refrain thy Anger ; he hath made bold with a Yoke of Oxen out of the Pasture ; he came home on a time smelling of his yesterdays Drink, take no notice of it ; and if of Oyntments too, say nothing. For by this means, the wild Colt (z) sometimes is made more tame.

(z) I have put in the word, sometimes, because I suppose

the Author did not mean it for a general Rule, seeing it doth most commonly fall out to the contrary. And this is one of the *ἀνθρώπινα*, as he calls these advisers before (i.e.) only matters of ordinary Prudence in human Conversation. and therefore in them, Parents are to govern themselves by prudence, as they see the temper of their Children requires.

riage

riage is the strongest Bond to hamper wild Youth withal. Provided that the Wives we procure for them, be neither of too noble a Birth, nor too great a Portion to suit their circumstances. For,

*'Tis wisely said, those Weddings least miscarry,
Where th' Parties first are match'd, before they marry.*

Whereas Men that marry Women very much superior to themselves, are not so truly *Husbands* to their *Wives*, as they are unawares made *Slaves* to their *Portions*. I will only add a few words more, and so put an end to these Advises: The chiefest thing that *Fathers* are to look to, is, that they themselves become effectual Examples to their Children (a) by doing all those things which belong to them, and avoiding all Vicious Practices, that in their lives, as in a Glass, they may see enough to give them an averſation to all ill words and actions. For those who chide Children for such faults as they themselves fall into, though they think not so, yet under their Childrens names, accuse themselves. And if they be altogether vicious in their lives, they lose to themselves the Freedom of reprehending their very Servants, and much more, do they forfeit it towards their Son: Yea, which is more than that they make themselves even Counsellors and Instructors to them in Wick- edness. For where Old Men are impudent, there of necessity must the Young Men be so too. Wherefore we are to apply our Minds to all such studies, as may conduce to the well-breeding of our Children. Whereof, we may take Example even from a Woman, and a Woman too of a Nation than which, there is none more barbarous, that is, an *Illyrian*. Her name was *Euridice* of *Hierapolis*, who

Fathers

are to give
their Chil-
dren none
but good
Examples.

(a) Some
read the
Greek

[ἐ μόνον
τῷ μὲν δὲ
αἰμαρ] α-
νεῖν ἀλλὰ
τῷ πατρὶ
ἀδελφῇ

περὶ τῆς

(i. e.) not
only by not
offending

in anything
themselves,
but also by

doing their
own duty in
all things.

who to enable her the better to teach her Children, when she was her self in her declining Age, applied here self to the study of Learning, whose love herein, how great it was towards her Children, appears evidently in this Epigram of hers, which she dedicated to the Muses.

(b) So I render the

[ΕΥΡΙΣΤΟΥ

ΕΥΡΙΣΤΟΥ] in

Xylander's

Edition;

which in

his *variae*

lectiones

he tells us

Vulcobius

reads

[ΕΥΡΙΣΤΟΥ]

I amend

them both

by ΕΥΡΙΣΤΟΥ.

Euridice *t'her Sister-Muses praise*

Of her true love, this Monument doth raise.

Who, her grown Sons that she might Scholars breed,

(Then, well in years) her self first learn'd to read.

And thus have I finished the Precepts, which I designed to give concerning this Subject. Which that they should all be followed by any one Reader, is rather, I doubt, to be wished then hoped: And to follow the greater part of them, though it be not impossible to Human Nature, yet will need a concurrence of more then ordinary diligence joyned with good Fortune.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. I.

Concerning the Cure of ANGER.

A Dialogue.

Translated from the Greek, by William Dillingham, D. D.

SYLLA. Those Painters (O Fundanus) do in my Opinion, very wisely, who never finish any piece at the first Sitting, but take a review of it at some convenient distance of time, because the Eye, being relieved by a kind of vacation and truce of seeing, and making frequent and fresh Judgments, is able to observe many small and critical differences, which by continual poring, and over much familiarity with the Object it could not have taken notice of. Now because it cannot be that a Man should retreat and stand off from himself, and then, after some Interval, resume and accost himself again (which is one principal reason why a Man is less able to give an exact Judgment of himself than he is of other Men) the next and best course that a Man can take, who would make true Observations upon himself, will be to inspect his Friends after some time of absence; and also to offer himself to their Tryal and Examination, not only whether he be grown old on the suddain, or whether the Habit of his Body be become better or worse than it was before; but also that they may take notice of his manner and behaviour, whether in that time he hath made any advance in Goodness, or gained

ground of his Vices. Wherefore being after two Years absence returned to Rome, and having since conversed with thee here again for these five Months, I think it no great matter of wonder, that those good qualities, which, by the advantage of a good natural disposition, you were formerly possessed of, have in this time received so considerable an addition and increase; but truly, when I behold how that vehement and fiery disposition, which you had to Anger, is now, through the conduct of Reason, reduced to so great a Temper and so conversable a meekness, my Mind prompts me to say with *Homer*, *Il. x. χ'. 373.*

O wonder! how much gentler is he grown!

Nor hath this gentleness produced in thee any laziness or irresolution, but as cultivation doth in the Earth, and evenness, and a profundity very effectual unto fruitful action, instead of thy former vehemency and over-eagerness. And therefore it is evident, that thy former pronitide to Anger hath not been withered in thee by any decay of natural fermentation, which a Declination in Age might have affected, nor by a spontaneous Expiration of the heat it self; but been cured by making use of some mollifying Precepts and Methods.

And indeed (to tell you the truth) when I heard our Friend *Eros* say the same thing, I had a jealousy that he did not report as the thing was, but that out of meer good will, he testified those things of you which ought to be found in every good and virtuous Man (although you know he cannot be easily induced in favour of any to pronounce otherwise than what he judges to be true) but now truly, as I do acquit him from having therein made any false report of thee, so I desire thee, being now at leisure from thy journey, to declare unto us the Means and Medicine, by use whereof thou hast brought thy Mind to be thus manageable and ingenuous, thus gentle and obedient unto reason.

FUNDANUS. But i'th' mean while (O most kind *Sylla*) you had best beware, lest you also, through Affection and Friendship, prove to be overseen in making an estimate of my Affairs. For *Eros* having himself also a mind oft-times, unable to keep its ground, and to contain it self within that Obedience which *Homer* makes mention of in praise of *Ulysses*, but subject to be exasperated through an hatred of Mens wickedness, may perhaps think I am grown more mild ; just as in musical pricking, when the Cliff is changed, that note which before was the base, becomes an higher note in respect of others which are now below it.

SYLLA. Neither of these are so (*Fundanus*) but I pray you gratifie us all in granting the request I made.

FUNDANUS. This then (O *Sylla*) is one of those excellent Rules, given by *Musonius*, which I bear in memory, That those who would attain to a health of mind must be continually mending and reforming of their Lives: For I do not think that Reason cures as Hellebore doth, by purging out its self together with the Disease it cures ; but by keeping possession of the Soul, and so governing and ordering its Judgments: For the Power of Reason is not like to Drugs, but wholesom Food, which, with the assistance of a good natural Disposition, produceth an healthful Constitution in as many as by frequent use it hath, as it were, become acquainted with.

And as for those good Exhortations and Admonitions which are applyed to Passions, while they swell, and are in the height, they work but slowly and with small success ; and differ in nothing from those strong smelling things, which indeed do serve to raise up those that have the Falling Sicknes upon their Legs again after they are fallen ; but are not able to remove the Disease: For whereas other Passions, even when they are in their ruff and acme, do in some sort yield and admit reason into the Soul, which comes to help it from without ; Anger does not, as *Melanthius* speaks,

Displace

Displace the Mind, and then act dismal things,

But absolutely turns it out of doors, and bolts the door against it; and, like those who burn their Houses and themselves within them, it makes all things within full of confusion, smoke and noise: So that the Soul can neither see nor hear any thing that might relieve it. Wherefore sooner will an empty Ship in a Storm at Sea admit of a Governour from without, than a Man tossed with Anger and Rage, listen to the advise of another, unless he have his own Reason first prepared to entertain it.

But as to those, who expect to be besieged, are wont to gather together, and lay in provisions of such things as they are like to stand in need of, not trusting to hopes of relief from without; so will it be our special concernment to fetch in from Philosophy such Foreign Help as it affords against Anger, and to store them up in the Soul beforehand, seeing that it will not be so easie a matter to provide our selves when the time is come that we should use them; for either the Soul cannot hear what is spoken without, by reason of the Tumult, unless it have its own Reason (like the Cryer in a Ship) ready to entertain and understand whatsoever Precept shall be given; or if it do chance to hear, yet will it be ready to despise what is patiently and mildly offered, and to be further exasperated by what any shall with vehemency press upon it. For Wrath, being proud and self-conceited, and utterly averse from compliance with others, like a fortified and guarded Tyranny, it must have something that is bred within it, and an inmate to it, that must dissolve it.

Now the continuance and frequent fits of Anger produce an evil habit in the Soul called Wrathfulness, or a Propensity to be angry; which oft-times ends in Choler, bitterness and morosity; when the mind becomes ulcerated, peevish and querulous, and like a thin, weak plate of Iron, receives Impression, and is wounded by every the least Occurrence;

currence : But when the Judgment doth presently seize upon wrathful Ebullitions, and suppresses them, it doth not only work a Cure for the present, but renders the Soul firm, and not so liable to such Impressions for the future. And truly, when I my self had twice or thrice made a resolute resistance unto Anger, the like befel me that did the *Thebans*; who having once foiled the *Lacedaemonians* (that before that time had held themselves invincible) never after lost so much as one Battel which they fought against them.

For I became fully assured in my mind, that Anger might be overcome by the use of Reason, as perceiving that it might not only be quieted by the sprinkling of cold Water (as *Aristotle* relates) but also be extinguished by putting one into a fright. Yea (and according to *Homer*) many Men have had their Anger melted and dissipated by sudden surprize of Joy. So that I came to this firm resolution, that this Passion is not altogether incurable to such as will but resolutely set upon it; since the beginnings and occasions of it are not always great, nor forcible, but a scoff, or a jest, or the laughing at one, or a nod only, or some other matter of no greater importance, hath put Men into Passion; as *Helena* thus bespeaking her Neice,

O my Eliza, now a Virgin state,
Provoked her to make this nipping return;

Tbou'rt wise too late, thou shouldst have kept at home.
And so did *Callisthenes* provoke *Alexander* by saying (when the great Bowl was going round) *O Alexander, I will not drink so deep, as to make work for Esculapius;*

As therefore it is an easie matter to stop the Fire that is kindled only in Hares Woolls, Candlewick, or a little Chaff, but if it have once taken hold of matter that hath solidity and thickness, it soon inflames and consumes,

Advanc'd,

Advanc'd, the highest Timber of the Roof.

As *Eschylus* said ; so he that observes Anger, while it is in its beginning, and sees it by degrees smoaking and taking Fire from some Speech, or Chaff like scurrility, he needs take no great pains to extinguish it, but oftentimes puts an end to it only by silence or neglect. For as he that adds no fuel to the Fire, hath already as good as put it out ; so he that doth not feed Anger at the first, nor blow the Fire in himself, hath prevented and destroyed it. Wherefore *Hieronimus*, although he taught many other useful things, yet hath he given me no satisfaction in saying, that Anger is not perceptible in its birth, by reason of its suddainness, but only after its brought forth and existing, for there is not any of all the other Passions, while it is gathering and stirring up, which hath its rise and increase so conspicuous and observable ; which *Homer* hath very prudently taught us, in making *Achilles* to be very suddainly surprized with Grief, as soon as ever he heard the word spoken ; when he saith

so said,
Il. p. 591. *A sable Cloud of grief him cover'd o're.*

But making *Agamemnon* grow angry slowly, and by many words to be enflamed ; which if any one had prevented and forbidden, when they began ; the contest had never grown to that degree and greatness which it did. Wherefore *Socrates*, as oft as he perceived any fierceness of Spirit to arise within towards any of his Friends ; setting himself like a Promontory to break the word, he would speak with a lower voice, bear a smiling Countenance, and look with a more gentle Eye ; thus, by bending to the other part, and moving contrary to the Passion, he kept himself from falling or being worsted.

For the first way (O Friend) to suppress Anger (as also a Tyrant) is not to obey or yield to it, when it commands

mands us to speak high, to look fiercely and to beat our selves; but to be quiet, and not increase the Passion (as we do a Disease) by impatient tossing and crying out, for indeed those love Frolicks, such as Revelling, or drunken Visits, singing and crowning the Door with Garlands, have a kind of Allevation and Easement in them, neither rude nor unpleasing.

*Coming, I cry'd not who, nor whose, but kiss'd
My Friend, if this be wrong, of right I miss'd.*

And that *Weeping* and *Lamentation*, which we use to indulge unto Mourners, doth doubtless carry forth much of the grief together with the Tears: but Anger (quite contrarily) is more inflamed by what the angry Persons say or do.

The best course then is for a Man to compose himself, or else to run away and hide himself, and retreat into quietness, as into an Haven (as Men are wont, when they perceive a fit of the Epilepsie coming upon them) lest we fall or rather fall upon others; and truly we do most, and most frequently fall upon our Friends. For we neither love all, nor envy all, nor fear all Men, but there is nothing untouched, and unset upon by Anger. We are angry with our Foes, and with our Friends; with our own Children, and our Parents; nay with the Gods above, and the very Beasts below us, and instruments that have no Life, as *Thamyris* was.

*His Horn, though bound with Gold, he brake in's ire,
He brake h's melodious and well strung Lyre.*

And *Pandarus*, wishing a Curse upon himself if he did not burn his Bow.

First broken by his Hands; Il. 216.

But *Xerxes* dealt blows and marks of his Displeasure to the Sea it self, and sent his Letters to the Mountain in the Stile ensuing.

ensuing. O thou wretched Athos, whose top now reaches to the Skies; I charge thee, make not thy Stones too big for my Works, and difficult to be wrought. If thou do, I will cut thee into pieces, and cast thee into the Sea.

For Anger hath many terrible effects, and many also that are ridiculous; and therefore of all Passions, this of Anger is both most hated, and most contemned, and it is good to consider both.

I therefore (whether rightly or no I know not) began this cure with learning the nature of Anger by beholding it in other Men, as the *Lacedaemonians* learnt what Drunkenness was by seeing it in the *Helots*. And in the first place, as *Hippocrates* said, That that was the most dangerous Disease, which made the sick Man's Countenance most unlike to what it was : So observing that Men transported with Anger do also exceedingly change their Visage, Colour, Gate and Voice, I formed a kind of Image of that Passion to my self, withal conceiving great Indignation against my self. If I should at any time appear to my Friends, my Wife and Daughters, so terrible and discomposed, not only with so wild and strange a look, but also with so fierce and harsh a voice, as I had met with some others of my Acquaintance, who by reason of Anger, were not able to observe, either good manners or countenance, or graceful Speech, or acceptable and becoming conversation.

Wherefore *Caius Graccus*, the Rhetorician, being of a rugged Disposition, and a passionate kind of speaking, had a Pipe made for him, such as Musicians used to vary their Voice higher or lower by degrees and gently and with his Pipe, his Servant standing behind him while he pronounced, gave him a mild and gentle Note, whereby he took him down from his loudness, and took off the harshness and angriness of his voice, asswaging and charming the Anger of the Rhetorician.

*As their shrill wax join'd Reed, who Herds do keep
Sounds forth sweet measures, which invite to sleep.*

For

For my own part had I a careful and pleasant Companion, that should shew me my angry Face in a Glass, I should not at all take it ill, some are wont to have a Looking-glass held to them while they wash, though to little purpose; but to behold a Mans self so unnaturally disguised and disordered, will conduce not a little to the Impeachment of Anger. For those who delight in pleasant Fables tells us that *Minerva* her self playing on a Pipe was admonish'd by a Satyr;

*That look becomes you not, lay down your Pipes,
And take your Arms, and set your Cheeks to rights.*

But would not regard it, yet when by chance she beheld the meen of her Countenance in a River, she moved with Indignation, cast her Pipes away, and yet her Art had the delight of Melody to comfort her against the Deformity which it caused. And *Marfyas*, as it seems, did with a kind of Muzzle and Mouth-Bands by force restrain the too forcible Eruption of his Breath, when he sounded, and so corrected and concealed the Anamomie of his Countenance.

*With shining Gold he girt his Temples rough,
And his wide Mouth with Thongs that tied behind.*

For Anger doth swell and puff up the Countenance very indecently, and sends forth a yet more indecent and unpleasant Voice,

Moving the Heart-strings, which should be at rest,

When the Sea is tossed and troubled with Winds, and casts up Moss and Sea-weed, they say it is purged, but those impure, bitter and vain Words, which Anger throws up, when the Soul is become a kind of Whirpool, do defile the Speakers in the first place, and fill them with dishonour, arguing them to have always such things in them, and to be full of them, only now they are discovered to have them by their Anger. So that, as *Plato* said, for so slight a matter

matter as a Word they undergo a most heavy punishment, being ever after accounted Enemies, evil Speakers, and of a Malignant disposition.

While therefore I observe those things, I lay up in my Mind, and readily recount unto my self, how good it is for one in a Feaver, but much more for one in Anger to have his Tongue soft and smooth. For if the Tongue in a Feaver be preternaturally affected, it is indeed an evil Symptom, but not a Cause; but if the Tongue of angry Men become rough and foul, and fluxing it self into absurd Speeches, it produces contumelious Injuries, which cause irreconcilable hatred, and argues a poisonous malevolency, that lies festring within. For Wine does not make Men vent any thing so impure and odious as Anger doth; and besides, what proceeds from Wine, is usually entertained with jest and laughter, but that from Anger is mixt with Gall and Bitterness, and he that is silent in his Cups, is counted a Burthen and troublesom to the Company, whereas in Anger there is not any thing more commended then Peace and Silence, as *Sappho* adviseth,

*When Anger once is spread within thy Breast,
Shut up thy Tongue, that vainly barking Beast.*

Nor doth the constant observation of Men in Anger minister those things only to our Consideration, but also gives us to understand another natural property of Anger, viz. How disingenuous and unmanly a thing it is, and how far from true Wisdom and greatness of Mind. Yet the Vulgar account the angry Mans troublesomness to be his Activity, his loud threats to argue Boldness, and his refractoriness Constancy; as also some do mistake his Cruelty for an undertaking of great Matters, his Implacableness for a firmness of Resolution, and his Morosity for an hatred of that which is evil, for in truth, both the Deeds and Motions, and the whole meen of angry Men do accuse them of much littleness and infirmity, not only when they vex
little

little Children, are angry and scold with silly Women, and think Dogs, and Horses, and Affes worthy of their anger, and deserving to be punished (as *Ctesiphon* the Pancratiastes * who vouchsafed to kick the Ass that hath kicked him first) but even in their Tyrannical slaughters, their low spiritness, which appears in their bitterness, and their suffering, seen in their very Actions, are but like to the bitings of Serpents, who when themselves become burnt and full of pain, do violently thrust the Venom that inflames them from themselves, into them that hunt them. For as a great blow causes a great swelling in the Flesh, so in the softest Souls (which are most liable to impressions) the provocation given them to hurt others (like a stroke on the Soul) doth make it to swell with anger, so much the more, by how much it is less able to abide the smart.

* i.e. *Victor* in all the Olympick Games.

For this cause it is that Women are more apt to be angry than Men are, and sick Persons, than the healthful; and old men, than those who are in their perfect Age and Strength, and Men in misery, than such as prosper. For the Covetous Man is most prone to be angry with his Steward, the Glutton with his Cook, the jealous Man with his Wife, the vain glorious Person with him that speaks ill of him; but of all Men, there are none so exceedingly disposed to be angry, as those who are ambitious of Honour, and affect to carry on a Faction in a City, which (according to *Pindar*) is but a *splendid Vexation*. In like manner from the great grief and suffering of the Soul (through weakness especially) there ariseth anger, which is not like the Nerves of the Soul (as one spake) but like the straining and convulsive motions of it, when it do's vehemently stir up it self in its desires and endeavours of revenge.

Indeed evil examples (whereof I have recounted some) do afford us no pleasing Speculations, but yet necessary; but now from those who have carried themselves mildly and gently in their anger, I shall present you with most excel-

lent sayings, and beautiful Contemplations, contemning such as say, *you have wronged the Man indeed, and so let him bear it, and thus Stamp on his Neck, Tread him down in the Dirt?* and such like provoking Speeches, whereby some do very unhandfomly translate and remove anger from the women, to the mens apartment. For Fortitude, which in other respects agrees with Justice, seems only to disagree in respect of mildness, as that which more properly belongs unto it. For it sometimes befalls even the worser men, to bear rule over those who are better than themselves, but to Erect a Trophy in the Soul against anger (which *Heraclitus* said, it was an hard thing to fight against, because whatever that resolves to have, it buys at no less a price than of the Soul it self) is that which none but a great and victorious puissance is able to atchieve, since that alone can make decrees and resolves, wherewith, as with Nerves and Tendons, to bind and curb the passions.

Wherefore I always strive to collect and read, not only the sayings and deeds of Phylosophers, who (wise men say) had no Gall in them; but especially those of Kings and Tyrants, of which sort was that of *Antigonus* to his Souldiers, who as some were reviling him near unto his Tent, supposing that he had not heard them, stretching his staff out of the Tent, said, *What will you not stand some where further off, while you revile me?* And that of *Arcadian* the *Archive*, who was ever speaking ill of *Philip*, exhorting one to flee.

Alluding to *Till he came there, where none did Philip know.*
Hom. Iliad.

ΔΧΓ 121. And afterward, by some accident, appearing in *Macedonia*, *Philip's* friends were of opinion, that he ought not to be suffered, but be punished: but *Philip* meeting with him, and speaking courteously to him, and then sending him gifts (and particularly such as were wont to be given to strangers) he had him to learn for the time to come, what to speak of him to the *Grecians*, and when all testified

testified, that the Man was become a great praiser of *Philip*, even to admiration ; you see (said he) *I am a better Physician than you*. And when he had been reproached at the *Olympic Solemnities* ; and some said it was fit to make the *Grecians* to smart and rue it, for reviling *Philip*, who had dealt well by them ; *What then* (said he) *will they do, If I make them smart ?* Those things also, which *Pisistratus* did to *Thrasimulus*, and *Porfena* to *Mutius*, were bravely done, and so was that of *Magas* to *Philemon* ; for having been by him exposed to laughter in a Comedy on the publick Stage, in these words,

Magas, the King hath sent thee Letters ; O !

Unhappy Magas doth no Letters know.

And having taken him, as he was by a Tempest cast on shore at *Paretonium*, he commanded a Soldier with his naked Sword only to touch his neck, and so go fairly away, and then having sent to him a Ball and Cockals, as to a Child that wanted Understanding, he dismissed him. *Ptolomy* jeering a Grammarian for his want of Learning, askt him, who was the Father of *Peleus* ; I will answer you (quoth he) if you will tell me first, who was the Father of *Lagus*. This Jeer gave the King a rub for the obscurity of his Birth ; whereat all were moved with indignation, as a thing not to be endured : but (said *Ptolomy*) if it be not fit for a King to be jeered, than no more is it fit for him to jeer others. But *Alexander* was more severe than he is in his carriage towards *Calhstenes* and *Clitus*. Wherefore *Porus*, being taken captive by him, desired him to use him like a King ; and when *Alexander* asked if he desired no more, he answered, in saying like a King, I have comprised all things. And hence it is that they call the King of the Gods *Meilichius* (mild and courteous) and the *Athenians*, I think, call him *Maimactes*, but the Office of punishing they ascribe to the *Furies*, and evil *Genii*, never giving it the Epithet of Divine or Heavenly. As therefore one said of *Philip*, when he raised the

City of *Olynthus*, but he is not able to build such another City ; so may it be said to anger, Thou canst overthrow and destroy and cut down ; but to restore, to spare, to save, and to bear with, is the work of gentleness and moderation ; of a *Camillus*, a *Motellus*, an *Aristides*, and a *Socrates* ; but to strike the sting into one, and to bite is the part of *Pismires* and *Flies*.

And truly, while I well consider revenge ; I find that the way which Anger takes for it, proves for the most part ineffectual, as being spent in biting the Lips, gnashing the Teeth, vain Assaults and Railings, full of silly Threats ; and then it acts like Children in a race, who, for want of governing themselves, tumble down before they come to the Goal, towards which they make ridiculous haste ; whence that *Rhodian* said not amiss to the Servant of the *Roman General*, who spake loudly and fiercely to him ; *I matter not much what thou sayest, but what this your Master in silence thinks*. And *Sophocles* having armed *Neoptolemus* and *Eurypylos*, gave an high commendation of them when he said

Each boldly charg'd, but ne're revil'd his Foe.

Some indeed of the *Barbarians*, do poyson their Swords ; but true valour has no need of cholor, as being dipt in reason ; but Anger and Fumes are weak and easily broken. Wherefore the *Lacedemonians* are wont by the sounding of Pipes to take off the edge of Anger from their Soldiers, when they fight ; and before they go to Battel, to sacrifice to the *Muses*, that they might have the steady use of their reason, and when they have put their Enemies to flight, they pursue them not, but found a retreat to their mind ; which like unto a short Dagger, is easily to be managed and recovered. But Anger makes slaughter of thousands, before it can think it self avenged, as it did of *Cyrus* and *Pelopidas* the *Theban*.

Agathocles, being reviled by some whom he besieged, bare
it

it with mildness ; and when one said to him, *O Potter, whence wilt thou have to pay thy Mercenary Soldiers ?* he answered, with Laughter, *from your City, if I can take it.* And when some one from the Wall derided *Antiphanus* for his deformity, he answered, *I had thought I had been of an handsome countenance,* and when he had taken the City, he sold those for Slaves who had scoffed at him, protesting, that if they reviled him so again, he would call them to account before their Masters.

But I observe that Hunters and Orators, are wont to be much foiled by Anger. *Aristotle* reports that the friends of *Satyrus*, when he was to plead a Cause, would stop his Ears with Wax, that so he might not confound the Matter through Anger at the Revilings and Reproaches of his Enemies. Do not we our selves oftentimes come short of punishing an offending Servant, who runs away from us, being terrified by our threatening words ? That therefore which Nurses say to little Children, *Do not cry and thou shalt have it,* may not unfitly be applied to our mind when angry, be not hasty, neither speak too loud, nor be too urgent, and so what you desire, will be sooner and better accomplished. For a Father, when he sees his Son going about to cleave or cut something with an Hatchet, takes himself the Hatchet, and doth it for him ; so one taking the work of Revenge out of the hand of Anger doth himself, without danger or hurt, yea, with profit also, inflict punishment on him that deserves it, and not on himself instead of him, as Anger oft-times doth.

Now, whereas all Passions do stand in need of Discipline (which by exercise may tame and subdue the unreasonableness and stubbornness of them) there is none, which we have more need to be exercised about, in reference to servants, than that of Anger ; for neither do we envy, nor fear them, nor have we any competition for honour with them ; but we have frequent occasions of being angry with them ; which causes many offences and errors, by

reason of that power which Masters have ; which being set (as it were) in a slippery place, and having none to withstand it, doth easily supplant us : For it is impossible for one to keep from offending in matter of passion a power, which is accountable to none, unless he do inwardly restrain, and gird up that great power with gentleness, and can slight the often Speeches of his Wife and Friends, accusing him of remissness : And indeed I my self have by nothing more, than such Speeches been incensed against my Servants, as if they were spoiled for want of beating ; and truly it was late before I came to understand : *First*, That it was better, that Servants should be something the worse by indulgence, than that one should distort himself through wrath and bitterness for the amendment of others ; and then *Secondly*, observing that many by this very impunity have been brought to be ashamed to be Wicked, and have taken the rise and motive, of their change to Vertue more from being pardoned, than from being punished ; and that they have obeyed some upon their nod only, peaceably, and more willingly, than they have done others with all their beating and scourging, I became perswaded of this, That Reason was fitter to govern with, than Anger : For it is not as the Poet said,

Where ever Fear is, there is modesty.

But on the contrary it is in the modest, that that fear is bred, which produces Wisdom and Reformation ; whereas continual beating, and indeprecable, doth not make Men repent of doing evil, but only project how to carry the matter so, as not to be discovered, when they do it ; and in the *Third* place, remembring always and considering with my self, that neither he who taught us the art of shooting did forbid us shooting, but shooting amiss, and that no more can it be any hinderance, from punishing to teach us how we may do it seasonably and moderately, with Benefit and Decency, I strive to put away Anger, especially by

not

not denying the punished, a Liberty to plead for themselves, but granting them an hearing. For time gives a breathing space unto passion, and a delay, which mitigates and dissolves it; and a man's Judgment in the mean while finds out both a becoming manner, and a proportionable measure of punishing: And moreover hereby, he that is punished hath not any pretence left him to object against the correction given him, when he's punished not out of Anger, but being first himself convinced of his fault, and (which would be a greater reflection) by this means the Servant shall not seem to speak more just things than his Master.

As therefore *Phocion*, after the death of *Alexander*, to hinder the *Athenians* from rising too soon, or believing it too hastily, said, O *Athenians*, if he be dead to day, he will be so to morrow, and on the next day after that: In like manner do I judge one ought to suggest to himself, who through Anger is making hast to punish, if it be true to day, that he hath thus wronged thee, it will be true to morrow, and on the next day also. Nor will there any inconvenience follow, upon the deferring of his punishment for a while; but if he be punished all in hast, he will even after seem to have been innocent; as it hath oftentimes fallen out heretofore. For which of us all is so cruel, as to torment or scourge a Servant, because five or ten days before, he burnt the Meat, or overturned the Table, or did not soon enough what he was bidden? And yet truly it is for such things as these, while they are fresh and newly done, that we are so disordered, becoming cruel and implacable; for as bodies through a Mist, so actions through anger, seem greater than they are. Wherefore we ought speedily to recal such considerations, as these are to our mind; and being unquestionably out of passion, if then to a pure and composed Reason, the deed do appear to be wicked, we ought to animadvert, and not defer any longer, nor forbear to punish it, as those do to eat their Food, who have lost their appetite. For there is nothing to which we

can more justly impute mens punishing others in their anger, than to their not punishing them, when their anger is over, but growing remiss, and doing like lazy Marriners who in fair weather keep loitering within the Haven, and then, when the Wind blows strong, put to Sea, though not without evident danger, for we likewise condemning the remissness and overcalmness of our Reason in punishing, make haste to do it, while our Anger is up, and pushes us forward, like a dangerous Wind.

He that useth food, doth it to gratifie his hunger, which is natural ; but he that inflicts punishment should do it without either hungering or thirsting after it, not needing Anger, like Sawce, to quicken, or whet him on to punish ; but when he is farthest off from desiring it, bringing his Reason to do it as a thing most necessary.

And though *Aristotle* report that in his time Servants in *Tyrrenia* were wont to be scourged, while the Music played ; yet they, who punish others, ought not to be carried on with a desire of punishing, as of a thing they delighted and took pleasure in ; nor to rejoyce when they punish, and then repent of it when they have done ; whereof the first is savage ; the last womanish ; but without either sorrow or pleasure, to inflict just punishment, when Reason is free to judge, and so leave no pretence for Anger to intermeddle. But this perhaps may seem to be, not a cure of Anger, but only a thrusting by, an avoiding of such Mis-carriages as some Men fall into, when they are Angry ; yet the swelling of the Spleen being asswaged abates the Feaver, though it be but a symptom of it, as *Hieronymus* tells us. But considering well the original and production of Anger it self, I observed that divers Men fell into Anger for different causes ; and yet all of them, probably, out of an opinion of their being despised and neglected ; and therefore he that would assist those who desire to avoid being angry, must perswade them to think, that there was nothing of neglect or daring in the action, and to impute it

it rather to folly or necessity, or disorder of Mind, or the misadventure of those that did it. Thus *Sophocles* in *Antigone*,

— O King,

*The best resolved Mind, in misery
Can't keep it's ground, but suffers extasy.*

And so *Agamemnon* ascribing the taking away of *Briſeis* unto *Ate*, Adds, *Hom. Il. 7 X. 138.*

*Since I so foolish was as thee to wrong,
I'll please thee now, and give thee splendid gifts.*

For supplication is an act of one, who is far from contemning; and when he that hath done an injury appears submiss, he thereby removes all suspicion of neglect. But he that is moved to Anger must not expect or wait for such a submission; but rather assume that of *Diogenes*, to himself; who, when one said to him, *they deride thee, O Diogenes*, made answer, *but I am not derided*, and not think himself contemned, but rather himself condemn that man that offends him, as one acting out of weakness or error, rashness or carelessness, rudeness or dotage, or childishness. But we must bear with all those of our own Family, and our Friends herein; for they do not condemn nor neglect us, as if we were impotent or slothful, and so could not or would not punish an affront; but by reason of our moderation or good will towards them, some because we are gentle, others because we are loving towards them. But now alas! out of a surmise that we are contemned, we not only become exasperated against our Wives, our Servants and Friends; but we fall out also with Inn-keepers and Mariners, and *Ostlers* (and those too often times when they are in drink) and all out of a suspicion that they despise us. Yea we quarrel with Dogs, because they bark at us, and Asses, if they chance to rush against us; like him who was going to beat a driver of Asses, but when he cried out I am an *Athenian*, fell to beating the Ass, saying, I hope thou art not an *Athenian* too,
and

and so accosted him with many a Bastinado. And truly self-love especially, and morosity, together with luxury and effeminacy, do breed in us long and frequent fits of Anger; which by little and little are gathered together into our Souls, like a swarm of Bees and Wasps.

Wherefore there is nothing more conducing to a gentle behaviour towards ones Wife and Family, and Friends, then the liking of a plain and simple diet, for him that can content himself with such as is set before him, ank stands not in need of many and superfluous viands, like him in the Poet.

*Who neither too much longs for Boyl'd nor Roast,
But likes his Meat, what way soever drest.*

But he that never drinks unless he have Snow by him; nor can eat Bread if it be bought in the Market; nor taste Victuals out of a mean or Earthen Vessel; nor sleep on a Bed, unless it be swoll'd and puffed up with Feathers like to the Sea, when it's heaved up from the bottom; but with Cudgels and Blows, with running, calling, and sweating doth hasten his Servitors, that wait at Table, with that hurry, as if they were sent for Cataplasms for some inflamed and painful Ulcer, he being slave to a weak, morose, and discontentful diet, doth (as it were by a continual Cough, or many buffetings) breed in himself, before he is aware, an ulcerous and defluxive disposition unto Anger. And therefore the Body is to be brought by the use of a spare Diet, to content it self with ordinary fare, and so be made sufficient for it self. For they who need but few things, are not liable to Anger by being disappointed of many, and it is no hard matter, being first contented in point of Diet, to treat the Company in silence; and not by being angry at every thing, and of a fastidious and querulous Appetite, to entertain themselves and their Friends with the most unpleasant dish of all, which is Anger, and so

Then Supper nought can more unpleasant be.

When

When the Servants are beaten, and the Wife railed at, because some is burnt, or smoaked, or not salt enough, or because the Bread is too cold. *Artesilaus* entertaining his Friends and some Strangers also, at a Feast; the Supper was set on the Board, but there wanted Bread, the Servants having (it seems) neglected to buy any. Now on such an occasion, which of us would not have rent the very Walls with out-crys? but he smiling said only, what a fine thing it is to have a Caterer that is a wise Man? Also *Socrates* taking *Euthydemus* from the Wrestling-house home with him to Supper, his Wife *Xantippe* came to him in a pelting chaff, reviling him, and in conclusion overthrew the Table. Whereupon *Euthydemus* arose up and went his way, being very much troubled at what had happened. But said *Socrates* to him, did not an Hen at your House the other day come flying and do the like, and yet I was not troubled at it. For Friends are to be entertained with complaisance, cheerfulness and familiarity; not by knitting Brows, nor by striking horror and trembling into those that serve.

We must also accustom our selves to the use of any Cups indifferently, and not to use this rather than that, as some are wont out of Many, to single some one little Cup (as they say *Marius* used to do) or else a great one, and to drink out of none but that, and so it is with them, for Oyl-glasses and Brushes, affecting one above all the rest, and when any of these chance to be broken or lost, then they take it hainously, and punish severely those that did it. And therefore he that is prone to be angry should restrain from such things as are rare and curiously wrought, such as Cups and Seals, and precious-stones: for such things being lost, do put a Man into disorder more than cheap and ordinary things are apt to do. Wherefore when *Nero* was making an eight square Tent, a wonderful Spectacle for cost and beauty: thou hast proved thy self (said *Seneca* to him) to be a poor Man; for if you chance to loose this, you cannot tell where to get such another; and indeed it

so fell out, that the Ship sinking, this Tent was lost with it. But *Nero* remembring the words of *Seneca*, bare the loss of it with the greater moderation.

But this facility in other matters doth make a Man facile and gentle towards his Servants, and if towards Servants, then doubtless towards Friends and Subjects also.

We see also that new bought Servants enquire concerning him that bought them, not whether he be superstitious or envious, but whether he be an angry Man or no, and that universally neither Men can indure their Wives, though chaste; nor Women their Husbands, though kind, if they be angry withal; nor friends the conversation of one another; and so neither Wedlock, nor Friendship with Anger are to be endured. But if Anger be away, even Drunkenness it self is counted a light matter with them, and easily dispensed with. For *Bacchus* his Cane is a sufficient Chastiser of a drunken Man; if the addition of Anger do not make the Wine of *Lyeus* and a *Choreus* as (*Bacchus* was called from relaxing the cares of the Mind, and disposing Men to dauncing) to become an *Orestes* or *Menoles*, cruel and furious. And madness it self, if it be alone, is cured by Hellebore; but if it be found in complication with Anger, it furnishes matter for Tragedies and dismal Stories.

Neither ought any, so much as in their Playing and Jestings, to give way to their Anger, for it turns good will into hatred; nor when they are disputing, for it turns a desire of knowing Truth into a love of Contention; nor when they sit in Judgment, for it adds violence to authority; nor when they are teaching, for it dulls the Learner, and breeds in him an hatred of all Learning; nor if they be in Prosperity, for it increases Envy; nor if in Adversity, for it makes them to be unpitied, while they are morose, and fall foul on those who commiserate them, as *Priamus* did. *Illiad*. *Ω*. *verse* 339.

*Be gone, y'upbraiding Scoundrels, ha'n't y'at home
Enough, that to help bare my grief ye come?*

Whereas

Whereas compliance doth remedy some things, put an Ornament upon others, and sweeten others ; but it wholly overcomes and abolishes all Anger and Morosity, by a gentle behaviour. As may be seen in that excellent Example of *Euclyde*, who when his Brother, upon a falling out betwixt them, had said, *let me perish if I be not avenged of you*, replied, *and let me perish if I do not perswade you into a better Mind* ; and by so saying, he straightway diverted him from his purpose, and changed his Mind. And *Polemon*, being reviled by one that loved precious Stones well, and was even sick of the love of costly Signets, answered nothing, but minded one of the Signets which the Man wore about him, and looked wisely upon it, as desirous to discern its Worth and Excellency. Whereat the Man being pleased, said, not so, O *Polemon*, but look upon it in the Sun shine, and it will appear much better to you. And *Aristippus*, when there happened to be a falling out between him and *Eschines*, and one said to him, O *Aristippus*, *what is now become of the Friendship that was between you two* ? answered, *it is asleep, but I will go and awaken it* ; and then coming to *Eschines*, he said to him, *What ? dost thou take me to be so utterly wretched and incurable, as not to be worth thy Admonition ? No wonder (said Eschines) if thou by nature so excelling me in every thing, didst here also discern before me, what was right and fitting to be done.*

*A Womans, nay a little Childs soft Hand,
With gentle stroaking easilier doth command,
And make the bristling Boar to couch and fall,
Then any boisterous Wrestler of them all.*

But we that can tame wild Beasts, and make them gentle, carrying young Wolves, and the Whelps of Lions in our Arms, do in a fit of Anger cast our own Children, Friends and Companions out of our Embraces, letting loose our wrath like a wild Beast, upon our Servants and Fellow-Citizens, extenuating, yea honesting it by the specious name

name of Zeal against Wickedness, wherein we do amiss, but I suppose, when we call one of the other Passions, and Diseases of the Soul Providence, another Liberality, another Piety, we cannot so acquit and clear our selves of any of them. And truly as *Zeno* said, that the Seed was a mixture, and drawn from all the Powers of the Soul: In like manner Anger seems to be a kind of Universal Seed extracted from all the Passions; for its taken from Grief and Pleasure, and Insolency, and then from Envy it hath the evil property of rejoycing at others adversity, and is worse than murder it self, for it doth not strive to free it self from suffering, but to bring mischief to it self, if it may thereby but do another Man an evil turn: And it hath the most odious kind of desire imbred in it, as being a desire of grieving and hurting another.

Wherefore, when we go to the Houses of Drunkards, we may hear the Minstrels playing betimes in the Morning, and behold there (as one said) the very dirt of Wine, and certain scattered fragments of Garlands, Servants drunk at the Door, and the marks and effects of angry and surley Men may be read in the Faces, brands and fetters of the Servants: But Lamentation is the only Musician, that always, like a Screech-Owl, alights and sits on the roof of an angry Man, while within the Stewards are beaten, and the Maid-Servants tormented; so that the Spectators in the midst of their mirth and delights, cannot but pity those sad Effects of Anger.

And truly even those, who out of a real hatred of wickedness, do often happen to be surprized with Anger, must abate the Excess and vehemency of it, together with over much credulity about those with whom they do converse, for of all other Causes this doth most increase Anger, when one proves to be wicked, whom we took for a good Man; and when one who we thought had loved us, falls into some difference and chiding with us.

As for my own Disposition, thou knowest very well with how strong Inclinations it is carried to shew kindness to Men, and to confide in them; and therefore (like those, who missing their step, tread on the empty Air) when I do most of all trust to Mens love, and as it were prop my self up with it, I do then most of all miscarry, and finding my self disappointed am troubled at it, and truly I have not hitherto been able to free my self from this great propensity that is in me, and forwardness in my love, but against credulity, perhaps I can make use of *Plato's* caution for a Bridle: For he said, he so commended *Helicon* the Mathematician, as knowing him to be a Creature by nature very mutable, and that he had a jealousy even of those who had been well Educated in the City; lest, being Men and the Off-spring of Men, they should in some thing or other discover the Infirmary of their Nature. But when *Sophocles* said, that for the most part

Thieves pranks do but betray them to be Men.

He seems to have been too severe upon us, overmuch trampling on and disparaging us; and yet truly this morosity in censuring and over propensity to accuse us, doth serve to render us moderate in our Anger, for that which is suddain and above our Expectation, doth cast us into a kind of Extasie. But we ought (as *Panetus* somewhere said) to imitate *Anaxagoras*, and as he said upon the Death of his Son, *I knew before that I had begotten but a mortal Man*: So should every one of us with like words, entertain by way of *Epiphonema*, such offences as stir us up to Anger; I knew that when I bought my Servant, I did not buy a wife Man; I knew that I did not get a friend that had no Passions; I knew that I had a Wife that was but a Woman. But if every one would always say that of *Plato* to himself, but am not I (perhaps) such an one my self, and turn his Reason from abroad to look into himself, and put an awe upon his Reprehension of others; he would not make so much

much use of his hatred of Evil, in being angry with, or reproving other Men, when he sees himself to stand in need of such indulgence. But now every one of us, when he is angry and punishing, can bring the words of *Aristides* and of *Cato*, *do not Steal, do not Lye*, and *why are ye so sloathful?* and (that which is most truly shameful of all) we do in our Anger reprove others for being angry; and what was done amiss through Anger, we punish in our Passion, therein not acting like Physicians, who *Purge bitter Choller with a bitter Pill*, but more encreasing and exasperating the Disease, which we pretend to Cure.

While therefore I am thus reasoning with my self, I endeavour also to abate something of my curiosity; because for any one over-curiously to enquire and pry into every thing, and to make a publick Business of every Employment of a Servant, every Action of a Friend, every little carriage of a Son, every whispering of a Wife, it causes great and long and daily fits of Anger, whereof the product and issue is a Peevish and Morose disposition. Wherefore (according to *Euripides*) God puts his Hands to things of greatest moment, but leaves lesser matters to be governed by Fortune. But truly I think a prudent Man ought not to permit any thing at all to trust to Fortune, nor to neglect any thing, but to trust and commit some things to his Wife, some things to his Servants, and some things to his Friends (as a Prince to certain Vice-gerents and Persons accountable, and Administrators) while himself is imploying his Reason about such Matters as are most proper for him, and of greatest concernment.

For as small Lettters hurt the Sight; so do small matters him that is too much intent upon them; they vex and stir up Anger, which begets an evil habit in him in reference to greater Affairs. But above all the rest, I looked on that of *Empedocles* as a divine thing, *viz. to fast or abstain from evil*. And I commended also those Vows and Professions made in Prayers, as things neither indecent in themselves,

selves, nor unbecoming the study of Wisdom and Philosophy, viz. For an whole years time to abstain from Venerry and Wine, serving God with Temperance all the while; or else again, for a certain time to abstain from lying, minding and watching over our selves (and that with all diligent endeavour, at least in our jesting and merry Discourse) that we speak nothing but what is true. Then I conformed my Soul to these Vows (supposing it would be no less acceptable to God than theirs, who so vowed) and set my self first, to observe a few Sacred Days also, wherein I would abstain from being angry, as it were from being drunk, or from drinking Wine (as devoutly as if I were observing the *Nephalia* or *Melisponda*, wherein neither feasting nor drinking of Wine was permitted) and then making trial of my self by little and little for a Month or two, I by this means in tract of time made some good progress and advance unto further patience in bearing Evils, diligently observing and keeping my self courteous in Language and Behaviour, free from Angor, and pure from all wicked words and absurd actions, and from passion, which for a little (and that no grateful) pleasure, brings forth great perturbations and shameful repentance after it. Whence experience, not without some divine assistance, hath, I suppose, made it evident that that was a very true judgment and assertion, viz. *That this courteous, gentle and benign disposition and behaviour is not so acceptable, so obliging, and so delightful to any of those with whom they converse, as it is to those that have it.*

F

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. I.

Of Bashfulness.

Translated from the Greek, by Thomas Hoy, Fellow of St. John's Colledge, Oxford.

SOME Plants there are, in their own Nature wild and barren, and hurtful to Seed and Garden Sets, which yet, among able Husbandmen, pass for infallible Signs of a rich and promising Soil: In like manner, some Passions of the Mind, not good in themselves, yet serve as first Shoots and *Promises* of a towardly Disposition. Among these I rank *Bashfulness*, the Subject of our present Discourse, no ill Sign indeed, but the Cause and Occasion of a great deal of Harm. For the Bashful oftentimes run into the same Enormities as the most harden'd and impudent, with this Difference only, that the former feel a regret for such Miscarriages, but the latter take a Pleasure and Satisfaction therein. The Graceless Person is without Sense of Grief for the greatest Baseness, and the Bashful is in Distress for the least appearance of it: For Bashfulness is only

The Bashful and Impudent subject equally to Vice.

Definition of Bashfulness.

Κατίζεα.

Modesty in the Excess; and may aptly enough be defined, *A Confusion or Dejectedness of Spirit, discovered in suitable Characters on the Face*: For as that Grief which casts down the Eyes, is termed *Dejectedness*, so that kind of Modesty, which cannot look another in the

Face, they call *Bashfulness*. The Orator speaking of a shameless Fellow, said, *He carried Harlots, not Virgins in his Eyes*: [playing with the Original Word *κόρη*, which is used

to

to signify a *Virgin*, or the *Pupil of the Eye* :] yet on the other hand, the sheepishly Bashful betrays no less the Effeminacy and Impotency of his Mind in his Looks, palliating that Weakness, which exposes him to the Mercy of Impudence, with the specious Name of Modesty. *Cato* indeed was wont to say, of young Persons, he had a greater Opinion of such as were subject to colour, than those that look'd pale; teaching us thereby to look with greater Apprehensions on the heinousness of an Action, than the *Reprimand* which might happily follow; and to be more afraid of the Suspicion of doing an ill Thing, than the Danger of it. However, to be ever meek and *Chicken-hearted*, so as not to be able to away with an *ill Look*, or hard Word from another, is equally to be avoided; because many Men have been deterred from generous Undertakings, no less for fear of Calumny and Detraction, than the Danger or Difficulty of such attempts. Therefore care is to be taken, not to baulk or depress the Weakness in one Case, nor to abett or countenance invincible Impudence in the other, such as is reported of *Anaxarchus*.

*Whose Dog-like Carriage and Effrontery,
Despising Infamy, out fac'd Disgrace.*

A convenient Meen between both is rather to be endeavoured after, by repressing the over Impudent, and animating the too meek Temper.

But this kind of Cure, as it is difficult, so is the restraining such Excesses not without Danger: For as a Gardiner in stubbing up some wild or useless Bushes, makes at them carelessly with his Spade, or burns them off the Ground; but in dressing a Vine, or grafting an Apple, or pruning an Olive, carries his Hand with the greatest wariness and deliberation, that he may not unluckily injure the Tree: So a Philosopher, in removing Envy, that useless and untractable Plant, or Covetousness, or immoderate Love of

Cautions in the
Cure of this Im-
perfection.

Pleasure, may cut deep safely, and make a large Scar ; but if he be to apply his Discourse to some more sensible or delicate Part, such as the restraining excess of Bashfulness, it lies upon him to be very careful not to cut off, or eradicate Modesty with the contrary Vice. For we must not so far extirpate all Bashfulness in Youth, as to leave them careless or impudent. But as those that pull down private Houses adjoyning to the Temples of the Gods, prop up such Parts as are contiguous to them ; so in undermining *Bashfulness*, due regard is to be had to adjacent Modesty, Good Nature and Humanity. And yet these are the very Names wherewith such an one is apt to flatter himself, and upon which he values himself mightily, that he is only good Natured, and Courteous, and Civil ; not Obstinate and Inexorable. The *Stoicks* therefore, in their Discourses of Modesty, distinguish all along betwixt that and *Bashfulness*, leaving not so much as Ambiguity of *ὑποκριτικήν*. Terms for a Pretence to the Vice. However, asking their good leave, we shall make bold to use such Words indifferently in either Sense ; or rather following the Example of *Homer* , whose Authority we have for it.

Much harm oftimes to Modesty befalls,

Much good oftimes ———

And it was not done amiss of him to make mention of the hurtfulness of it first ; because Modesty, till reduced to a just Meen, cannot be said to be useful or good.

In the first place therefore the modest (or Bashful) Man must be perswaded and satisfied, that That Distemper of the Mind is prejudicial to him, and that nothing which is so can be eligible. And withal, he must be cautious how he suffers himself to be cajoll'd and led by the Nose with the Titles of *Courteous* or sociable in Exchange for those of grave, great and just. Nor like *Pegasus* in *Euripides*,

Who

*Who when the Hero mounted on his Back,
Was seen to sail beneath the noble Weight.* Bellephoron.

Must he scruple to appear hard or ungentle to such as make their Addresses to him? It is recorded of *Bochoris* King of *Egypt*, a Man of a very cruel Nature, That the Goddess *Isis* sent a kind of Serpent (called *Aphis*) which winding its self about his Head, intercepted his Sight, and was a means to him of determining Causes according to Equity. But Bashfulness happening upon † *remiss* and *spiritless* Tempers, suffers them not to † *Ἀτόνους καὶ ἐνάνδρους* express their Dislike of any thing, or to ill effects of argue against it; but perverts many times it. the Sentence of Arbitrators, and stops the Mouths of skilful Pleadors, forcing them in some things to act and speak much beside their Inclination, and contrary to their Conviction. And the less Sense of Honour, or the worse Principles any Man has entertained, the greater ascendant has he over the modest Man, whom he forcibly brings to his own Terms by strength of Impudence. Upon this Account it is, that Bashfulness, a Place that lies low and accessible, can make no resistance, and decline no Temptation, but is exposed to the meanest Actions and vilest of Vices. But above all, this is the worst Guardian of raw and unexperienced Youth; For, as *Brutus* said, *He seems to have had but an ill Education, that has not learnt to deny any thing*: and no better Overseer is it of the Marriage-Bed, or the † *Women's Apartment*: † *Τὸ γυναικῶν μέρος*. For as the Lady in *Sophocles* accuses the Spark that had debauched her.

Thy Tongue, thy flattering Tongue too soon prevailed.

So this Vice, happening upon a Disposition inclinable to Debauchery, prepares and opens the way, and leaves all things easie and accessible to such as are ready to prefer their wicked Designs. Presents and Treats are irresistible Baits for common mercenary Creatures; but Importunity

befriended with Bashfulness on their side, has sometimes undone the modestest Women. I omit what Inconveniences this kind of Modesty occasions, when it obliges Men to lend their Money to such whose Credit is blown upon in the World ; or to give Bail for those they dare not trust ;

we do this, 'tis true, with an ill will, and in our Heart reflect upon that Old Saying, *Be Bail, and pay for't*, yet cannot make use of it in our Practice.

Instances of
some that have
lost their Lives
by *Bashfulness*.

How many this Fault has ruined, it is no easie thing to recount. *Creon* in the Play, tells *Medea* excellently well,

*'Tis better now to brave thy direst Hate,
Than curse a foolish Easiness too late.*

Yet afterwards being wrought upon to grant her but one day longer, ruined himself and Family by it. For the same reason some suspecting Designs out against their Life, have neglected to provide for their Safety. Thus *Dio* could not be ignorant of the Treachery of *Callippus* ; yet thought it unfit to entertain such Thoughts of his pretended Friend and Guest. So again *Antipater*, the Son of *Cassander*, having entertained *Demetrius* at Supper, and being engaged by him for the next Night , because he was unwilling to distrust one who had trusted him, went, and had his Throat cut after Supper. *Polyperchon* had promised *Cassander* for an hundred Talents to murder *Hercules*, the Son of *Alexander* by *Basine* ; upon this, he invites him to sup, but the young Man having some Suspicion of the thing, pretends himself indisposed ; *Polyperchon* coming to him ; *Sir*, says he, *above all things, endeavour, after your Father's Courteous Behaviour, and obliging way to his Friends, unless you would have us think, you look not upon us as such!* The young Man, out of mere Modesty was prevailed upon to go, and was strangled as he sat at Meat. It was not therefore (as some will have us believe) insignificant or ridiculous, but on the contrary very wise Advice, which *Hesiod* gives,

Wel-

Welcome a Friend, but never call thy Foe.

Be not mealy-mouth'd in refusing him that you are satisfy'd has a *Pique* against you; and let it be no Inducement to trust him, because he has confided in you. For if you invite, you must expect to be invited again, and sometime or other your Entertainment will be repaid you, if Bashfulness have once softened, or turned the Edge of that Diffidence which ought to be your Guard.

To the end therefore that we may get the better of this Imperfection, which is the Cause of so many Evils, we must make our first Attempts (as our Custom is in other things) upon Matters of no great Difficulty: As, if one drink to you, after you have taken what is sufficient, be not so foolishly modest to do violence to your Nature, but rather venture to pass the Glass. Another, it may be, would tempt you to † *Hazard*; be not over-perswaded into a Compliance, for fear of being the Subject of their Drollery; but reply with *Xenophon* heretofore, when *Lafus*, the Son of *Hermiones*, called him Coward, because he refused to play at Dice; *Yes*, said he, *I confess my self the greatest Coward in the World, for I dare not do an ill thing*. Again, you have light upon an impertinent Talker, that sticks upon you like a Bur, to the Disappointment of your important Occasions; deal freely with him, break off the Discourse, and pursue your Business. These kind of Repulses, whereby our Resolution and Assurance is exercised in Matters of less moment, will accustom us to it by degrees in greater Occasions. And here it will be but seasonable to give you a Passage, as it is recorded of *Demosthenes*. Having one time perswaded the *Athenians* to send Succors to *Harpalus*, and themselves to engage in a War against *Alexander*, it happened that *Phixenus*, *Alexander's* Admiral, unexpectedly arrived on their Coast, which putting the People into a sudden Consternation; *Demosthenes* cry'd

In the Cure to begin with the easiest things.

Κοῦβεν'ειν.

out, *How would they endure the SUN, who are not able to look against a CANDLE ?* Or how would you comport your self in weightier Concerns, while your Prince or the People had an awe over you, if you cannot refuse a Glas of

Wine, or turn off an impertinent † *All-Talk*,
 † Ἀλλ' ἄλεχ' but suffer the Eternal Trifler to be troublesome to you, without telling him, *Another time, good Sir, at present I am in haste.* Besides all this, the

Exercising such a Resolution is of great use in praising others. If one of my Friends Musick play lewdly; or a Comedian he has hired at a great rate, *Murder* a piece of

Menander in the Acting: I think it no *Moroseness* or *Ill-breeding*, to sit silently all the while, without servilely joyning in the com-

mon Applauses contrary to my Judgment. For if you scruple to deal openly with him in these Cases, what would you do, should he repeat to you an insipid Composition of his own, or submit to your Revival a ridiculous Oration? You would be so disingenuously modest to give him Incouragement, and enter your self into the List of common Parasites and Flatterers! But how then can you direct him impartially in the greatest Administrations of his Life, now be free with him where he fails in any Duties of his *Trust* or Marriage, or neglects the Offices incumbent on him, as a Member of the Community? I must confess, I cannot by any means approve of the Reply *Pericles* made to one

that tempted him to give half Evidence upon Oath, and his Answer was this, *That as far as the Altar, he was wholly at his Service;*

because, methinks the Complement closes too much with his Proposal, and approaches too near consenting to it: But he that has arrived thus far, not to commend any thing against his Judgment, or applaud an ill Voice, or seem pleased with undecent Scurrilities; such an one will never suffer things to come to that Issue, that his Resolution or Integrity shall be attempted, or any one shall

dare

dare to move the Question to him, *Swear on my side, give false Evidence, or bring in an UNJUST VERDICT.*

After the same manner we may learn to refuse such as come to borrow considerable Sums of us, if we have used to deny in these little Matters. *Archelaus King of Macedon, as he sat at Supper, one of his Retinue, that had no Pretensions to his Favour, begged of him a Golden Cup; but the King commanded a Waiter to give it immediately to Euripides: For you, Sir, said he, are fit indeed to ask any thing, but to receive nothing; and He [Euripides] deserves to receive, though he takes not the Confidence to ask.* Wisely reserving his gracious Favour to the Disposal of his own Judgment, and not suffering it to be wrought upon by too much Modesty. Yet we oftentimes, when the Honesty, Nearness and Necessities of our Friends and Relations are not Motives sufficient to prevail with us to their Relief; can give profusely to Impudence and Importunity, not out of any Willingness to bestow our Money so ill, but merely for want of Confidence and Resolution to deny: This was the Case of *Antigonis the Elder*; being wearied out with the Importunity of *Bias*, Give, said he to his Servants, *One Talent to Bias, because it must be so.* Yet at other times he was as expert at encountering such Addresses as any Prince, and dismissed them with as remarkable Answers. Thus a certain Cynic, one day begging of him a Groat; he made answer: *That is not for a Prince to give;* and the poor Man replying, *Then bestow a Talent;* he repartee'd briskly, *Nor that for a Cynic to receive.* *Diogenes* went about begging to all the Statues in the *Ceranicum*, and his Answer to some that admired at his Fancy in it, was, *He was practising how to bear a Repulse;* but indeed it chiefly lies upon us to exercise our selves in smaller Matters, to refuse an unreasonable Request; that we may be able on greater Occasions, to be assisting

How to deal
with those that
come to bor-
row.

Κεραμικῶν,
This was a
Street in Athens
where the Statues
of famous
Men were placed.

to such as have real need, and deserve not a Denial: For as *Demosthenes* rightly observes, *He that runs out his present Money in unnecessary Expences, will never lay up for the future, though he should be furnished again.* And it amounts to our Disgrace, if we want what is necessary or decent, and abound in Trifles and Fopperies.

The Folly of it in some weighty Concerns.

Yet *Bashfulness* is not only a bad Steward of our Estate, but even in weightier Concerns, yet refuses to hearken to the wholesome Advice of *Right Reason*. Thus in a dangerous Fit of Sickness, we send not to the ablest Physician, for fear of giving offence to another of our Acquaintance. Or in taking Tutors and Governours for our Children, we make choice of such as obtrude themselves upon us, not such as are better qualified for that Service. Or in our Law-Suits, we regard not to retain Counsel Learned in the Law, because we must gratifie one that calls himself our Friend, or give opportunity to a young Relation to shew himself in the World. Nay, lastly, you shall find some that bear the Name of Philosophers, who call themselves *Epicureans* or *Stoics*, not out of Choice, or upon the least Conviction; but meerly to oblige their Friends or Acquaintance, who have taken Advantage of their Modesty, since then the Case is so with us, we ought to prepare and exercise our selves in things that we daily meet with, and of course; not so much as indulging that foolish Weak-

* Some read *Yvdes*, a Ful-lar.

ness in the Choice of a Barber or * Painter; or lodging in a paultry Inn, when better Accommodations is to be had, to oblige the Landlord, who has cringed to us: But if it be meerly to break our selves of such Follies, in those Cases still make use of the best, though the Difference be but inconsiderable. As the *Pythagorians* are strict in observing not to cross their Right Knee with the Left: or to use an Even Number for an Odd; but in all other things lived

lived like the rest of the World. We must observe also when we celebrate a Sacrifice, or keep a Wedding, or make a publick Entertainment, to deny our selves so far, as not to invite any that have been extremely complaisant to us, or that put themselves upon us, before such as are known for their good Humour, or whose Conversation is like to prove beneficial. For he that has accustomed himself thus far, will not only be proof against, but shall not so much as be tempted in greater Instances. And thus much may suffice to have said concerning exercising our selves.

My first use of what has been said, is to observe that all Passions and Distempers of the Mind are still accompanied with those very Evils, by their Means we hope to avoid. Thus Disgrace pursues Ambition; Pain and Indisposition, Sensuality; Softness and Effeminacy are fretted with Troubles; Contentiousness with Disappointment and Defeats. But this is no where so conspicuous, as in *Bashfulness*, which endeavouring to avoid the Smoak, throws it self into the Fire. Such Men wanting Confidence to withstand those that put them upon unjust Practices, oftentimes run themselves into unexpected *Præmunire*; and for fear of a private Rebuke, incur more publick Disgrace: Not having the Heart to deny a Friend that comes to borrow, in short time are reduced to the same Extremity themselves, and exposed openly: So again, giving Security for others, they are constrained afterwards to hide their Heads, or *rub off and sell the Town*. Many have been so unreasonably weak in this particular, as to accept of disadvantageous Proposals of Marriage, and upon second thoughts, have been forced to bring themselves off with an errant Lye. One made this Observation of the People of *Asia*, That they were all Slaves to one Man, meerly because they could not pronounce that Syllable, *No*; but he spake only in rallery. But now the Bashful Man, though he be not able to say one Word, let him but turn aside, or look another way, as if he

The Passions
liable to those
Evils they
would avoid.

he minded not, and he may decline many ungrateful and unreasonable Offices. *Euripides* was wont to say, *Silence was an Answer to a wise Man*; but we seem to have greater occasion for it in our Dealings with Fools and unreasonable Persons; for Men of Breeding and Sense will be satisfied with Reason and fair Words. Upon this account we should be always provided with some notable Sayings, and choice Apothegms of famous and excellent Men; such as that of *Phocion* to *Antipater*: *You are deceived, Sir, if you would have me your Friend, and expect I should play the Flatterer.* And that of his to the *Athenians*, when they called upon him to come in for his Share to defray the Expences of the *Wake*; *I am ashamed* (said he, pointing to *Callicles* his Creditor) *to contribute towards your Follies, and have not wherewithal to satisfy his just Expectations.* For (as *Thucydides* says) 'tis an ill thing to be ashamed of ones Poverty, but much worse not to make use of lawful Endeavours to avoid it. But he that is so extremely good Natured, that he cannot answer one that comes to borrow.

Faith, Sir, at present I am wondrous poor.

But gives him a promise to be better provided;

The Wretch has made himself a Slave to Shame,

And drags a tiresome, though an unseen Chain.

Perseus being to accommodate a Friend with a Summ of Money, paid it publickly in the Market, and made the Conditions before a Banquire, remembring it may be that of *Hesiod*;

Too great caution
cannot be used
in disposing of
our Money.

Seem not thy Brother's Honesty to doubt,

Yet smiling call a Witness to his Hand.

But when the other asked him, *And why these Niceties and Forms of Law among Friends?* His Answer was, *By all means, that we may continue so, and I never trouble the Law to recover*

it.

it. For many out of *Bashfulness*, not taking care to have good Security at first, have been forced afterwards to break with their Friends, and have recourse to Law for their Money. Again, *Plato* writing by *Helicon Cyzicenus* to *Dionysius*, takes occasion from the Honesty and Moderation of the Bearer, to give him an advantageous Character : but withal, in the Postscript tells him, *Yet this I write of a Man, who, as such, is by Nature subject to Change.* *Xenocrates*, though a Man of rigid Morals, was prevailed upon by this kind of Modesty, to recommend to *Polysperchon* a Person, as it proved in the end, not so accomplished as he was reputed. For when the *Macedonian* in Compliment bid him call for whatever he wanted ; he presently desired a Talent of Silver ; *Polysperchon* ordered it accordingly to be paid him, but dispatch'd away Letters immediately to *Xenocrates*, willing him for the future to be better acquainted with those he recommended. Now all this came to pass through *Xenocrates's* Ignorance of his Man ; but we often times give Testimonials, and squander away our Money to advance such, as we are very well satisfied have no Qualification or Desert to recommend them, and this too with the Forfeiture of our Reputation, and without that Pleasure Men have to pretend, that are profuse upon Whores and Flatterers ; but all the while in an Agony, and struggling with that Impudence which does Violence to our Reason. Whereas, if at any time that Verse can never be more properly used :

I know the dreadful Consequence and Fear.

Then when such Persons are at a Man to Forswear himself, or give a wrong Sentence, or Vote for an *Unjust Bill*, or lastly, to be bound for one that will never be able to pay the Debt.

All Passions of the Mind have Repentance still pursuing them closely ; but it overtakes this of *Bashfulness* in the very Act. For we

Repentance presses *Bashfulness* at the Heels.

give

give with regret, and we are in Confusion, while we bear false Witness: Our Reputation is questioned when we engage for others, and when we fail, we are condemned by all Men. From this Imperfection also it proceeds, that many things are imposed upon us, not in our power to perform; as to recommend such a Man to Court, or to carry up an *Address* to the Prince; because we dare not, or at least, we will not confess, we are unknown to the Prince; or that another has more of his Ear. Thus *Lyfander*, being in Disgrace at Court, yet for his great Services, thought to preserve something of his former Esteem with *Agésilas*, made no Scruple to dismiss his *Creatures*, directing them to such as were more powerful with the King. For it is no Disgrace not to be able to do every thing; but to undertake, or pretend to what you are not made for, is not only shameful, but extremely troublesome and vexatious.

But to proceed to another Head, we must perform all reasonable and good Offices to those that deserve them, without constraint, chearfully and readily: But where any thing prejudicial or unhandsom is required of us, we ought to remember the Story that is related of *Zeno*: Meeting a young Man of his Acquaintance that slunk away under a Wall, as if he would not be seen, and having learnt from him, that he withdrew from a Friend that importuned him to perjure himself; *What* (replied he) *you Novice!* *that dissolute Fellow was not afraid to attempt you in an unjust thing, and dare not you stand him where you have Justice on your side?* For he that first started that Doctrine, That Knavery was the best Defence against a Knave, was but an ill Teacher, advising us to commit Wickedness to secure our selves. But for such as presume upon our Modesty, to keep them off with their own Weapons, and not gratifie their unreasonable Impudence with an easie Compliance, is but just and good, and the Duty of every honest Man. Neither is it an hard Matter to put off some mean and ordinary People

People, which will be apt to prove troublesome to you in that Nature. Some shift them off with a Jest, or a smart Repartee; as *Theocritus* being ask'd in the *Bagnio* to lend his Napkins, by two Persons, whereof one was a Stranger to him, and t'other a notorious Felon; he made answer: You, Sir, I know not well enough, and you I know too well. And *Lyfimache*, the Priestess of *Minerva Polias*, in *Athens*, when the Muletters, that brought the Provision for the Festival, desired her to make them drink; No, said she, for it may grow into a Custom. So again, *Antigonus*, when a Captains Son, a young fluttering Bully, but a great Coward, petitioned to succeed in his Fathers place: Sir, said he, it is my way to reward my Souldiers for their Valour, not their Parentage. But if he that is importunate with us prove a Man of great Honour or Interest (and such Persons are not easily answered with Excuses, when they come for our Vote in the Senate, or judicial Cases) at such a time, perhaps it will be neither easie nor necessary to bestow our selves to them, as *Cato* did towards *Catalus*. *Catalus*, a Person of the highest Rank among the *Romans*, and at that time Censor, waiting on *Cato*, then Treasurer, on behalf of a Friend, whom he had fined; after he had used a great deal of Importunity to no purpose, yet would not be denied; *Cato*, who grew out of Patience, told him, It would be an unseemly Sight to have the Censor dragged hence by my Officers. *Catalus* at this went away out of Countenance, and very Angry. The Answers of *Agessilaus* and *Themistocles*, have in them much more of Candor and Equity. *Agessilaus* being perswaded by his Father to give Sentence contrary to Law: No, says he, I have been always taught by you to be observant of the Laws, and I shall endeavour to obey you at this time, by doing nothing contrary to them. And *Themistocles*, when

Some Men dismissed with a Jest.

So called, because she was the Tutelar Deity of the City.

Great Persons how to be put off.

Κατάλα.

when *Simonides* tempted him to commit a piece of Injustice; *You would be no good Poet*, replied he, *should you break the received Laws and Rules of Verse; and I should I consent to do otherwise than what is Just and Right, τὸ πρὸς τῶν νόμων ἀμείνων* should make no better Magistrate. For it is not the Disproportion between the Neck and the Body of a Viol, as *Plato* observes, that Cities make

War upon one another, and Friends are set at variance to their utter Ruin and Destruction; but the Violation of the *Law of Nations*, and the Breach of the *Rights of Society*. Yet there are a sort of Men that can be very curious and critical in their Songs and Verses, and Letters, yet would not persuade others to neglect that Justice and Honesty which all Men are obliged to observe in their Trusts and Actions.

Men to be answered from their several Circumstances in the World. But these Men are to be dealt with after the following manner. An Orator perhaps presses you to shew him Favour in a Cause to be heard before you; tell him you are ready to pleasure him, on condition he makes

a *Solécism* in the beginning of his Oration, or be guilty of some barbarous Expression in his Narration. These Terms, for shame, he will not accept; for some we see so Superstitiously Accurate, as not to allow of two Vowels meeting one another. Again, you are moved by a Person of Quality to something of ill Reputation, bid him come over the Market-place at full Noon dancing, or making

Διασπέρωντα τὸ πρόσωπον Buffoon-like Grimaces; if he refuse, question him once more, whether he think it a more heinous Offence to make a *Solécism*, or a *Grimace*, than to pervert the Intention of a Law, or to perjure one's self, or to shew Favour to an ill Man, before one of known Integrity? *Nicostratus* the *Argive*, when *Archidamus* promised him a vast Summ of Money, and his Choice of the *Spartan* Ladies in Marriage, to deliver up the Town *Cromnum* into his Hands, returned him this Answer: He could

no longer believe him descended from Hercules ; because he traversed the World to destroy Wicked Men, but Archidamus made it his Business to debauch those that were Good. In like manner, if one that stands upon his Quality or Reputation, proposes any thing dishonourable to us, we must tell him freely, he acts not as becomes a Person of his Character in the World. But then for those that are Subject to any particular Vice ; you may enquire of the covetous Man, whether he would lend you a considerable Summ without any other Security than your Word ; desire the proud Man to give you the upper hand ; or the Ambitious, to quit his Pretensions to some Honour that lies fair for him. For to deal plainly, it is a shameful thing, that these Men should shew so much Resolution for, and be so entirely devoted to, their vitious Habits, as not to be in the least moved or wrought upon to depart from them : while we, who profess our selves Lovers of Justice and Honesty, have not so much command of our selves, as not to give up and betray basely the Cause of Vertue.

They that would practice upon our Modesty, if they do this out of desire of Glory or Power, why should we contract Disgrace or Infamy to our selves, to advance the Authority, or set off the Reputation of others ? like those that bestow the Reward wrongfully in *Publick Games*, or betray their Trust in Collecting the Poll ; they confer indeed Garlands and Honours upon other Men, but at the same time forfeit their own Reputation and good Word. But suppose it be Matter of Interest only that puts them upon it ; why should it not appear an unreasonable piece of Service for us to forego our Reputation and Conscience to no other purpose, than to satisfy another Mans Avarice, or make his Coffers the heavier ? After all, this I am afraid is the grand Motive with most Men in such Cases, That they are conscious they are used to be guilty, and such things are not strange to them ; as Men that are to take

too large a Glass, raise an hundred Scruples, and make as many Grimaces before they drink.

This Weakness of the Mind may be compared to a Constitution of Body that can endure neither Heat nor Cold; for good natured Men are presently mollified and broken, by the Flatteries of such as design upon their Weakness; and are concerned as soon, and in a bodily fear for the least pretended discontent. We ought therefore to prepare and fortifie our selves against both Extreames, neither to be made a Prey to such as pretend to affrighten, or to cajole us. *Thucydides* is of Opinion, since there is a necessary Connexion between Envy and great Undertakings, That he consults best for his own Glory, who aims at the highest pitch of Grandeur and Envy. But for us, who esteem it less difficulty to avoid the Envy of all Men, than to escape the Censure of those we live among; we ought to order things so, as rather to grapple with the unjust Hatred of evil Men, than to deserve their just Accusation, after we have served their base Ends. We ought to

Not to suffer our
selves to be abu-
sed by Flattery.

go armed against that dangerous Praise such Men are apt to fling upon us: Not suffering our selves, like Swine, to be clawed and tickled, till having got the Advantage of us, they use us after their own Pleasure. For they that reach out their Ears, or hearken to Flatterers, differ very little from such as stand fair and quiet to be tripped up, excepting that, though both fall, yet the former with the greater Disgrace. These put up the Affronts, and forbear the Correction of wicked Men, to get the Reputation of good natured or merciful; or else are drawn into Quarrels and Impertinent Disputes at the Instance of Flatterers, who hold them in hand all the while for the only Men of Judgment, the only Men not to be caught with Flattery, and call them the Mouths and Voices of the Company. *Bion* was wont to compare these Men to Pitchers, take them by the Ears, and you may move them as you please.

Thus

Thus *Alexinus* the Sophister, having reported many scandalous Things in the *Lyceum* of *Stilpo* the *Megarensian*; one present, informed him that *Stilpo* always spake very honourably of him: *Why truly*, says he, *he is one of the most obliging and best of Men*. But now *Menedimus* when it was told him that *Alexinus* often praised him; *That may be* (he replied) *but I always talk against him*. From whence we may infer, That he must be an ill Man himself, who could praise such an one, and whom a good Man had reason to speak ill of. So wary was he of being caught by such Baits agreeable to that Precept of *Hercules* of *Antisthenes*, who cautioned his Scholars not to be thankful to such as were used to praise them. Thereby meaning no more, than that they should be so far from being wheedled thereby, as not so much as return their Flatteries again. That of *PINDAR* was very apposite, and enough to be said in such a Case; when one told him, *I cry you up among all MEN, and speak to your Advantage on all OCCASIONS*: And I, replied he, *am always very thankful in that I take care you shall not tell a Lye*.

I shall conclude with one general Rule, of Sovereign Use against all the Passions and Diseases of the Mind, but particularly beneficial to such as labour under the present Distemper, *Bashfulness*. And it is this; whenever they have observed themselves unawares, to have given way to this Weakness, that they store up carefully such Failings in their Memory, and taking therein deep and lively Impressions of what Remorse and Disquiet they occasioned, bestow much time in reflecting upon them, and keeping them fresh. For as Travellers that have got a dangerous Fall against such a Stone, or Saylor's Shipwrack'd upon a particular Promontory,

The Gallery wherein the Scholars of *Aristotle* used to dispute walking from thence called *Peripatetics*.

Antisthenes in his *Tenth Tome*, has a Book entituled *Hercules*, or *de Prudentia*, mentioned by *Laertius* in his *Life*.

Excellent Advice.

montory, keeping the Image of their Misfortune continually before them, appear fearful and apprehensive, not only at the same, but even the like, Dangers: So they that keep in mind the disgraceful and prejudicial Effects of some particular Imperfections of this kind, will soon be enabled to restrain themselves on the like, and will not easily slip again on any Occasion.

Plu-

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. I.

That Vertue may be taught.

*Translated from the Greek, by Mr. Patrick of
the Charter-House.*

MEN deliberate and dispute variously concerning *Vertue*, whether Prudence and Justice, and how to order ones Life aright, can be taught. Are we then to admire the Works of Orators and Pilots, of such as build Houses and follow Husbandry, which are innumerable, and are good Men, only a Name, and to be discoursed of, just as we do of Centaurs, Gyants and the Cyclops? And as for any vertuous Action that is sincere and unblamable, and Manners that are without any touch and mixture of bad Passions and Affections, that they are not to be found? But if Nature of its own accord should produce any thing good and excellent, so many things of a foreign Nature mix with it (just as wild and impure Productions with generous Fruit) that the good is scarce discernable. Men learn to Sing, Dance and Read, and the Skill of Husbandry and good Horsemanship; they learn how to put on their lower and their upper Garments: They have those that teach them how to fill Wine, and to dress and cook their Meat; and none of these things can be done as they ought, unless they be instructed how to do them: And will ye say, O foolish Men! that the Skill of ordering ones Life well (for the sake of which are all the rest) is not to be taught, but to come of its own accord,

without Reason and without Art? Why do we, by asserting that Vertue is not to be taught, make it a thing that does not at all exist? For if by its being learnt it is produced, he that hinders its being learnt, destroys it. And now, as *Plato* says, we never heard, that because the Foot [or Neck] of an Harp bore no due Measure and Proportion to the Body of it, therefore one Brother made War against another, nor that it put Friend in Variance, nor that Cities hereupon were at such Enmity, that they did to one another, and suffered one from another the extreamest Injuries: Nor can any one tell us of a Sedition raised in a City, about the right accenting or pronouncing of a Word, as whether we are to read *Telchinas* [with the Accent upon the first or second Syllable] nor that a difference arose in a Family betwixt Man and Wife, about the Woof and the Warp in Cloath, yet none will go about to Weave in a Loom, or to handle a Book or a Harp, unless he has first been taught, though no great Harm would follow if he did, but only the fear of making himself ridiculous (for as *Heraclitus* says, it's a piece of Discretion to conceal ones Ignorance) and yet he presumes himself able to order a Family, a Wife, or a Commonwealth, and to govern very well. *Diogenes* seeing a Youth devouring his Victuals too greedily, gave his Tutor a Box both Ear, and that deservedly, as judging it the Fault of him that had not taught, not of him that had not learnt better Manners, And what? Is it necessary to begin to learn from a Boy, how to eat and drink handsomely in Company (as *Aristophanes* expresses it,

*Not to devour their Meat in haste, nor giggle,
Nor awkwardly their Feet across to wriggle.*)

And yet think they are fit to enter into the Fellowship of a Family, City, married Estate, private Conversation, or publick Office, and to manage it without Blame, without any previous Instruction concerning good Behaviour in Conversation,

When

When one asked *Aristippus* this Question, what are you every where? He laugh'd and said, *I throw away the Fare of the Water-man* (whom I oft employ) *if I am every where.* And why canst not thou also answer, that the Salary given to School-masters is thrown away and lost, if none are the better for their Discipline and Instruction. [But the contrary is apparent] for as Nurses shape and form the Body of a Child with their Hands, so these Masters, when the Nurses have done with them, first receive them into their Charge, in order to the forming of their Manners, and directing their Steps into the first Tracts of Vertue. To which purpose, the *Lacedæmonian*, that was asked what good he did to those whom he instructed, answered well, *I make good and honest things pleasant to Children.* Those Masters also teach them to bend down their Heads [in Modesty] as they go along, to touch Sawce [or Pickle] with one Finger only, but Fish, Bread and Flesh with two; *thus to Scratch, and thus to tuck up their Garments.* Now he that says, that the Art of Physic may be proper for a Tetter or a Whitlow, but not to be made use of for a Pleurisie, a Fevor, or a Phrensie, what does he differ from him that should say, that it is fit there should be Schools and Discourses, and Precepts to teach trifling and childish things, but that all Skill in greater Matters, and more manly and perfect, comes from Use without Art, and from accidental Opportunity? For as he that should say to one that never learnt to Row, that he ought to manage an Oar, would be ridiculous; so is he that gives leave for Men to be instructed in other Arts, but not in Vertues: He seems to be quite contrary to the practice of the *Scythians*, who, as *Herodotus* tells us, put out their Servants Eyes, to * *assist them in ordering their Milk* ** but he, putting in Reason as an Eye, to serve only inferior and ministring Arts, takes it away from Vertue, [as altogether unserviceable.]

* Thus I supply some Words that seem here to be wanting out of the Fourth Book of *Herodotus's* History, at the beginning of it, where this thing is related at large.

But the general *Iphicrates*, when *Callias* the Son of *Cabrias* asked him, what art thou? Art thou an Archer or a Targeteer, a Trooper or a Foot-Souldier? answered well, I am none of all these, but one that commands them all. He therefore would be ridiculous that should say, that the skill of shooting in a Bow, of handling Arms, of throwing with a Sling, and of good Horsemanship might indeed be taught; but the Skill of Commanding and Leading an Army, came, as it happened, one knew not how. And would not he be still more ridiculous, who shall say, that Prudence only could not be taught, without which, all those other Arts are useless and unprofitable? When she is the Governess, ranking all things in due Place and Order, every thing is assigned to become useful, for Instance, how ungraceful would a Feast be, though all concerned were skilful, and enough practised in Cookery, in dressing and serving up the Meat, and in filling the Wine as they ought, if all things were not well disposed and ordered among those that waited at the Table? ***

The Discourse seems to be unfinished.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals :

Vol. I.

The Account of the Laws and Customs of the *Lacedæmonians.*

*Translated from the Greek by Mr. John Pulleyn,
of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge.*

IT was a singular Instance of the Wisdom of this Nation, in that they took the greatest Care they could, by an early and sober Education, to instil into their Youth the Principles of Vertue and good Manners, that so by a constant Succession of prudent and valiant Men, they might the better provide for the Honour and Security of their State, and lay in the Minds of every one a solid and good Foundation of Love and Friendship, of Prudence and Knowledge, of Temperance and Frugality, of Courage and Resolution. And therefore their great Law-giver thought it necessary for the Ends of Government to institute several distinct Societies and Conventions of the People; amongst which, was that of their solemn and publick Living together at one Table, where their Custom was to admit their Youth into the Conversation of their wise and elderly Men, that so by daily Eating and Drinking with them, they might insensibly, as it were, be trained up to a right Knowledge of themselves, to a just Submission to their Superiors, and to the learning of whatever might conduce to the Reputation of their Laws, and the Interest of their Country. For here they were taught all the wholsom Rules of Discipline; and daily instructed how to demean themselves from the Example and Practice of your Great Ones; and though they did not

not at this publick Meeting confine themselves to set and grave *Discourses* concerning the *Civil Government*, but allowed themselves a larger Freedom, by mingling sometimes with their Politics, the easie and familiar Entertainments of *Mirth* and *Satyr*; yet this was ever done with the greatest Modesty and Discretion, not so much to expose the Person of any one, as to reprove the Fault he had committed. Whatever was transacted at these stated and common *Feasts* was to be locked up in every ones *Breast*, with the greatest Silence and Secresie, insomuch, as the *Eldes*t amongst them at these Assemblies, pointing to the Door, acquainted him who entred the Room, that nothing of what was done or spoken there, was to be talked of afterwards.

At all these *Publick Meetings* they used a great deal of *Moderation*, they being designed only for *Schools* of *Temperance* and *Modesty*, not for *Luxury* and *Indecency*, their chief Dish and only Delicacy, being a sort of *Potage* (called by them their *Black Broth*, and made of some little Pieces of *Flesh*, with a small quantity of *Blood*, *Salt* and *Vinegar*) and this the more Ancient among them generally preferred to any sort of *Meat* whatsoever, as the more pleasing Entertainment, and of a more substantial Nourishment. The younger sort contented themselves with *Flesh* and other ordinary Provisions, without tasting of this *Dish*, which was reserved only for your *Old Men*. It is reported of *Dionysius* the *Sicilian Tyrant*, that having heard of the great Fame and Commendations of this *Broth*, hired a certain Cook of *Lacedemon*, who was thoroughly skilled in the Make and Composition of it, to furnish his Table every day with so great and curious a Dainty; and that he might have it in the greatest Perfection, enjoined him to spare for no Cost in the making it agreeable and pleasant to his Palate; but it seems the End answered not the Pains he took in it; but after all his Care and Niceness, the King, as soon as He had tasted of it found it both fulsom and nauseous to his Stomach, and spitting it out with great Distaste, as if He had taken
down

down a Vomit, sufficiently expressed his Disapprobation of it. But the *Cook* not discouraged at this Dislike of his *Master*, told the *Tyrant*, that he humbly conceived the Reasons of this *Disagreeableness* to him was not in the *Portage*, but rather in *Himself*, who had not prepared his Body for *such Food*, according to the *Laconic Mode and Custom*. For hard Labours, and long Exercises, and moderate Abstinence (the best Preparatives to a good and healthy Appetite) and frequent Bathings in the River *Eurotas*, were the only Necessaries for a right Relish and Understanding of the Excellency of this Entertainment.

'Tis true, their *constant Diet* was very mean and sparing; not what might pamper their Bodies, or make their Minds soft and delicate, but such only as would barely serve to supply the common *Necessities* of Nature. This they accustomed themselves to, that so they might become sober and governable, active and bold in the Defence of their Country; they accounting only such Men serviceable to the *State*, who could best endure the Extrems of *Hunger* and of *Cold*, and with Chearfulness and Vigor run through all the Fatigues of Labour, and the Difficulties of Hardship. Those who could fast longest after a *slender Meal*, and with the least Provision satisfy their Appetites, were esteemed the most Frugal and Temperate, and most Sprightly and Healthful, the most Comely and well Proportioned; Nature, through such a Temperance and Moderation of Diet, not suffering the Constitution to run out into an *unweildy Bulk*, or *Greatness* of Body (the usual Consequence of *Full Tables*, and too much *Ease*) but rather rendring it thereby nervous and sinewy, of a just and equal Growth, and consolidating and knitting together all the several Parts and Members of it. A very little Drink did serve their Turn, who never drank but when an *extream Thirst* provoked them to it; for at all their common *Entertainments* they studied the greatest *Measures* of *Sobriety*, and took care they should be deprived of all kinds of *Compotations* whatsoever; and

and at Night when they returned Home, they went cheerfully to their Sleep, without the Assistance of any *Light* to direct them to their Lodging; that being prohibited them as an indecent thing, the better to accustom them to Travel in the Dark, without any Sense of Fear or Apprehensions of Danger.

They never applied their Minds to any kind of *Learning*, further then what was necessary for use and service, *Nature* indeed having made them more fit for the purposes of *War*, than for the Improvements of *Knowledge*. And therefore for *Speculative Sciences* and *Philosophic Studies*, they looked upon them as foreign to their Business, and unserviceable to their *Ends* of Living, and for this reason they would not tolerate them amongst them, nor suffer the *Professors* of them to live within their Government. They banished them their *Cities*, as they did all sorts of Strangers, esteeming them as *Things* that did debase the true *Worth* and *Excellency* of *Vertue*, which they made to consist only in *manly Actions*, and generous Exercises, and not in vain Disputations and empty Notions. So that the whole of what their Youth was instructed in, was to learn Obedience to the *Laws* and *Injunctions* of their *Governors*, to endure with Patience the greatest Labours; and where they could not conquer, to die Valiantly in the Field. For this reason likewise it was, that all *Mechanic Arts* and *Trades*, all *vain* and *insignificant Employments*, such as regarded only *Curiosity* or *Pleasure*, were strictly prohibited them, as things that would make them degenerate into Idleness and Covetousness, would render them vain and effeminate, useless to themselves, and unserviceable to the *State*: And on this account it was, that they would never suffer any *Scenes* or *Interludes*, whether of *Comedy* or *Tragedy* to be set up among them, lest there should be any encouragement given to speak, or act any thing that might favour of contempt, or contumely against their *Laws* and Government, it being customary for the Stage to assume an indecent liberty of
taxing

taxing the one with Faults, and the other with Imperfections.

As to their Apparel, they were as thinly clad, as they were dieted, never exceeding one Garment, which they wore for the space of a whole Year. And this they did the better to inure them to Hardship, and to bear up against all the Injuries of the Weather, that so the extremities of Heat and Cold, should have no influence at all upon their Constitutions. They were as regardless of their *selves*, as they were negligent of their *Cloaths*, denying themselves (unless it were at some stated time of the *Year*) the use of Ointments and Bathings to keep them *clean* and *sweet*, as too expensive, and signs of a too soft and delicate temper of Body.

Their *Youth* as they were instructed and eat in publick together, so at night they slept in distinct Companies, in one common Chamber, and on no other Beds but what was made of *Reeds*, which they had gathered out of the River *Eurotas*, near the Banks of which they grew. This was the only accommodation they had in *Summer*, but in *Winter* they mingled with the Reeds a certain *soft* and *downy Thistle*, having much more of heat and warmth in it, then the other.

It was freely allowed them to place an ardent Affection, upon those whose excellent Endowments recommended them to the love and consideration of any one; but then this was always done with the greatest Innocency and Modesty, and every way becoming the strictest Rules and Measures of Vertue, it being accounted a base and dishonourable passion in any one to love the *Body* and not the *Mind*, as those did, who in their young Men, preferred the Beauty of the one before the Excellency of the other, chaste Thoughts and modest Discourses were the usual Entertainments of their Loves, and if any one was accused at any time, either of *wanton Actions* or *impure Discourse*, it was esteemed by all so *Infamous* a *Thing*, that the stains it left upon

upon his *Reputation*, could never be wiped out during his whole Life.

So strict and severe was the Education of their *Youth*, that whenever they were met with in the streets, by your grave and elderly Persons, they underwent a close Examination; It being their Custom to enquire of them upon what business, and whether they were going, and if they did not give them a direct and true answer to the question demanded of them, but sham'd them with some idle story or false pretence, they never escaped without a rigorous *Censure* and sharp *Correction*. And this they did to prevent their *Youth* from stealing abroad upon any idle or bad Design, that so the uneasy Fears of meeting these grave *Examiners*, and the impossibility of escaping Punishment upon their false Account and Representations of Things, they might be kept within due compass, and do nothing that might entrench upon Truth, or offend against the Rules of *Virtue*. Nor was it expected only from their *Superiors*, to censure and admonish them upon any *Miscarriage* or *Indecency* whatsoever, but it was strictly required of them under a severe Penalty; for he who did not reprove a Fault that was committed in his Presence, and shewed not his just Resentments of it by a Verbal *Correction*, was adjudged equally culpable with the guilty, and obnoxious to the same punishment. For they could not imagine that person had a serious regard for the Honour of their Laws, and the Reputation of their Government, who could carelessly pass by any *Immorality*, and patiently see the least corruption of good Manners in their *Youth*; by which means they took away all occasions of fondness, partiality and indulgence in the Aged, and all Presumption, Irreverence and Disobedience, and especially all impatiency of Reproof in the younger sort. For not to endure the *Reprehension* of their *Superiors* in such Cases, was highly disgraceful to them, and ever interpreted as an open *Renunciation* of their *Authority*, and a down-right opposing of the *Justice* of their *Proceedings*; besides, when any were surprized

surprized in the Commission of some notorious Offence, he was presently sentenced to walk round a certain *Altar* in the City, and publickly to shame himself by singing an ingenious *Satyr* (composed by himself) upon the Crime and Folly he had been guilty of, that so the punishment might be inflicted by the same Hand which had contracted the *Guilt*.

Their Children were brought up in a strict Obedience to their Parents, and taught from their Infancy to pay a profound Reverence to all their Dictates and Commands, and no less were they enjoyned to shew an awful regard and observance to all the *Superiors* in *Age* and *Authority*: So as to rise up before the *hoary Head*, and to honour the face of the *Old Man*, to give him the way when they met him in the Streets, and to stand still and remain silent till he was passed by; insomuch as it was indulged them, as a peculiar Privilege due to their Age and Wisdom, not only to have a paternal Authority over their own Children, Servants and Estate, but over their Neighbours too, as if they were a part of their own Family and Propriety; that so in general, there might be a *mutual Care*, and an *united Interest*, zealously carried on betwixt them for the *private good* of every one in particular, as well as for the *publick good* of the *Communities* they lived in. By this means they never wanted Faithful Counsellors to assist with good Advice in all their concerns, nor hearty Friends to prosecute each others Interest, as it were their own: By this means they never wanted careful Tutors and Guardians for their Youth, who were always at hand to admonish and instruct them in the solid Principles of Vertue. No one durst shew himself refractory to their Instructions, nor at the least murmur at their Reprehensions, insomuch, that when ever any of their Youth had been punished by them, for some ill that had been done, and a compliment thereupon made by them to their Parents, of the severity they had suffered, hoping for some little relief from their Indulgence and Affection, it was accounted

accounted highly dishonourable in them, not to add to their Punishment, by a fresh correction for the Folly and Injustice of their complaint. For by the common Interest of *Discipline*, and that great care that every one were obliged to take in the Education of their Youth, they had a firm trust and assurance in one another, that they never would enjoin their Children the performance of any thing that was in the least unnecessary or unbecoming them.

Though it might seem very strange and unaccountable in this wise Nation, that any thing which had the least semblance of Baseness or Dishonesty should be universally approved, commended and encouraged by their *Laws*, yet so it was in the Case of *Theft*, whereby their young *Children* were allowed to *Steal* certain things, as particularly the Fruit of their *Orchards*, or their *Messes* at their *Feasts*; but then this was not done to encourage them to the desires of Avarice and Injustice, but to sharpen their Wits, and to make them crafty and subtle, and to train them up in all sorts of wiles and cunning, watchfulness and circumspection, whereby they were rendred more apt to serve them in their Wars, which was upon the matter the whole profession of this *Commonwealth*, and if at any time they were taken in the Act of Stealing, they were most certainly punished with Rods, and the penance of Fasting; not because they esteemed the Stealth Criminal, but because they wanted skill and cunning in the Management and Concealing of it.

They spent a great part of their *Studies* in Poetry and Music, which raised their Minds above the ordinary level, and by a kind of *Artificial Enthusiasm* inspired them with generous *Heats* and *Resolutions* for Action. Their Compositions consisting only of very grave and moral Subjects, were easie and natural, in a plain dress, and without any Paint or Ornament, containing nothing else but the just commendations of those great Personages, whose singular Wisdom and Vertue had made their Lives famous and exemplary, and whose Courage in defence of their Country, had

had made their Deaths honourable and happy. Nor were the Valiant and Vertuous only the Subject of these Songs, but the better to make Men sensible of what rewards and honour are due to the Memory of such, they made invectives in them, upon those who were signally vicious and Cowards, as Men who died with as much contempt as they had lived with infamy: They generally concluded their *Poem* with a solemn Profession of what they would be, boasting of their progress in Vertue, agreeable to the Abilities of Nature, and the expectations of their Age. At all their publick Festivals these Songs were a great part of their entertainment; where there were three Companies of Singers, representing the three several Ages of Nature. The Old Men made up the first *Chorus*, whose business was to present what they had been after this manner.

That active Courage youthful Blood contains,

Did once with equal vigour warm our Veins.

To which the *Chorus*, consisting of young Men only thus answers,

Valiant and bold we are, let who will try:

Who dare accept our Challenge, soon shall die.

The third which were of young Children, replied to them in this manner.

Those Seeds which Nature in our Breast did sow,

Shall soon to generous Fruits of Vertue grow:

Then all those valiant Deeds which you relate

We will excel and scorn to imitate.

They made use of a peculiar Measure in their Songs, when their Armies were in their march towards an Enemy, which being sang in a full Quire to their Flutes, seemed proper to excite in them a generous courage and contempt of death. *Lycurgus* was the first who brought this War-like Music into the Field, that so he might moderate and soften the Rage and Fury of their Minds in an engagement, by

solemn musical Measures; and that their Valour (which should be no boistrous and unruly thing) might always be under the Government of their Reason and not of passion. To this end it was always their Custom before the *Fight* to Sacrifice to the *Muses*, that they might behave themselves with as much good Conduct as with Courage, and do such Actions as were worthy of Memory, and which might challenge the Applauses and Commendations of every one: And indeed so great an Esteem and Veneration had they for the Gravity and Simplicity of their ancient Music, that no one was allowed to recede in the least from the established Rules and Measures of it, insomuch as *Ephori*, upon complaint made to them, laid a severe mulct upon *Terpander* (a Musician of great note and eminency for his incomparable Skill and Excellency in playing upon the *Harp*, and who, as he had ever professed a great Veneration for Antiquity, so ever testified by his Elogiums commendation, the Esteem he always had of Vertuous and Heroic Actions) and depriving him of his *Harp*, and (as a peculiar punishment) exposing it to the Censure of the People by fixing it upon a Nail, because he had added one string more to his *Instrument*, then was the usual and stated number, though done with no other design and advantage then to vary the sound, and to make it more useful and pleasant, that Music was ever accounted among them the best, which was most grave, simple and natural. And for this Reason too, when *Timotheus* in their *Carnean* Feasts, which were instituted in Honour of *Apollo*, contends for a preference in his Art, one of the *Euphori* took a Knife in his Hand, and cut the Strings of his *Harp* for having exceeded the number of seven in it, so severely tenacious were they of their ancient Customs and Practices, that they would not suffer the least innovation, though in things that were indifferent, and of no great Importance; least an Indulgence in one thing might have introduced another, till at length by gradual and insensible alterations, the whole
Body

Body of their Laws might be disregarded and contemned, and so the main Pillar which did support the Fabric of their Government, weakned and undermined.

Lycurgus took away that *Superstition*, which formerly indeed had been the practice among them, concerning their *Sepulchres*, and funeral Solemnities, by permitting them to bury the remains of their departed Friends within the City, that so they might the better secure them from the rude and barbarous violence of an Enemy, and to erect their Monuments for them in separated places joyning to their Temples, that having their Graves and Tombs always before their Eyes, they might not only remember, but imitate the worthy Actions they had done; and so lessen the fears and apprehensions of Death, with the consideration of those Honours they paid their Memories, when they put off their Mortalities. He took away those pollutions which they formerly looked upon as arising from their dead Bodies, and prohibited all costly and sumptuous Expences at their Funerals, it being very improper for those who, while alive, generally abstained from whatever was vain and curious, to be carried to the Grave with any Pomp and Magnificence; and therefore without the use of Drugs and Ointments, without any rich Odours and Perfumes, without any Art or Consolity, save only the little Ornament of a red Vestment, and a few Olive-leaves; they carried him to the place of burying, where he was without any formal sorrows and publick Lamentations, honourably and securely laid up in a decent and convenient Sepulchre; and here it was lawful for any one who would be at the trouble, to erect a Monument for the Person deceased, but not to Engrave the least Inscription on it; this being the peculiar reward of such only who had signalized themselves in War, and died gallantly in defence of their Country.

It was not allowed any of them to Travel into Foreign Countries, least their Conversation should be tinged with the Customs of those Places, and they at their return

introduce amongst them new Modes and incorrect Ways of living, to the corruption of good Manners, and the prejudice of their own Laws and Usage; for which Reason they expelled all *Strangers* from *Sparta*, lest they insinuated their Vices and their Folly into the Affections of the People, and leave in the Minds of their Citizens, the bad Principles of Softness and *Luxury*, Ease and Covetousness.

Nothing could sooner forfeit the Right and Privilege of a Citizen, then refusing their Children that publick Education, which their Laws and Country demanded of them, for as none of them were on any account *exempt* from Obedience to their Laws, so if any one out of an extraordinary tenderness and indulgence, would not suffer their Sons to be brought up according to their strict Discipline and Institutions, he was straightways *Disfranchised*; for they could not think that Person could ever prove serviceable to their Government, who had not been educated with the same care and severity with his fellow Subjects: And it was no less a Shame and Reproach to the *Parents* themselves, who could be of such mean and abject Spirits, as to prefer the love of their CHILDREN to the love of their COUNTRY, and the satisfaction of a fond and imprudent Passion, to the Honour and Security of their State: Nay further, as there was a community of Children, so there was of their Goods and Estates, it being free for them in case of necessity to make use of their Neighbour's Servants, as if they were their own; and not only so, but of their Horses and Dogs too, unless the Owners stood in need of them themselves, whenever they designed the diversion of *Hunting*, an exercise peculiar to this Nation, and to which they were accustomed from their Youth, and if upon any extraordinary occasion any one was pressed with the want of what his Neighbour was possessed of, he went freely to and borrowed, as though he had been the right proprietary of their Store-houses, and being supplied answerably to his

his necessities, he carefully sealed them up again, and left them secure.

In all their Warlike *Expeditions* they generally clothed themselves with a Garment of a purple Colour, as best becoming the Profession of *Souldiers*, and carrying in them a signification of that blood they were resolved to shed in the Service of their *Country*. It was of use likewise, not only to cast a greater Terrour into their Adversaries, and to secure the Wounds they should receive from their Discovery ; but likewise for distinction sake, that in the heat and fury of the Battle, they might discriminate each other from the Enemy: They always fought with consideration and cunning, craft being many times of more advantage to them then down-right blows ; for it is not the multitude of Men, nor the strongest Arm and the sharpest Sword, that make Men Masters of the Field. And whenever a Victory was gained through a well contrived *Stratagem*, and thereby with little loss of Men and Blood, they always Sacrificed an Ox to *Mars*, but when the success was purely owing to their Valour and Prowess, they only offered up a *Cock* to *him*, it being in their estimation more honourable for their *Generals* and *Commanders* to overcome their *Enemies* by Policy and Subtlety, then by meer Strength and Courage.

One great part of their *Religion* lay in their Solemn Prayers and Devotion, which they daily offered up to their Gods, heartily requesting of them to enable them to bear all kinds of Injuries with a generous and unshaken Mind, and to reward them with Honour and Prosperity, according to their performances of Piety and Vertue: Besides, it was a great part of that Honour they paid their Gods (of what ever *Sex* they were) to adorn them with military Weapons and Armour, partly out of Superstition and an extraordinary Reverence they had for the Vertue of *Fortitude*, which they preferred to all others, and which they looked upon as an immediate gift of the Gods, as being

the greatest Lovers and Patrons of those who were endued with it; and partly to encourage every one to address their Devotions to them for it; insomuch as *Venus* her self, who in other Nations was generally represented Naked, had her Armour too, as well as her particular Altars and Worshippers.

When ever they took any business of moment in hand, they generally in a set form of words, for their success in it, it being no better in their esteem then prophaneness and irreverence to their Gods, to invoke them upon slight and trivial emergencies.

No discovery of what is bad and vicious comes with greater evidence to the Spirits and Apprehensions of Children, who are unable to bear the force of Reason, then that which is offered to them by way of Example, and therefore the *Spartan Discipline* did endeavour to preserve their *Youth* (on whom Philosophical Discourses would have made but small Impression) from all kinds of Intemperance and Excess of Wine, by presenting before them all the indecencies of their drunken *Helots*; Persons indeed who were their Slaves, and imployed not only in all kinds of servile Offices, but especially in tilling of their Fields, and manuring of their Grounds, which was let out to them at reasonable Rates, they paying in every year their returns of Rent, according to what was anciently established and ordained amongst them, at the first general division of their Lands: And if any did exact greater payments from them, it was esteemed an execrable thing amongst them, they being desirous that the *Helots* might reap again and profit from their Labours, and thereupon be obliged faithfully to serve their Masters, as well as their own interest, with greater cheerfulness and industry: And therefore their *Lords* never required more of them then what bare Custom and Contracts exacted of them.

They adjudged it necessary for the preservation of that Gravity and Seriousness of manners, which was required of their

their Youth, for the attainments of Wisdom and Vertue, never to admit of any light and wanton, any ludicrous or effeminate Poetry; which made them allow of no Poets among them; but such only, who for their Grave and Vertuous Compositions, were approved by the publick Magistrate, that being hereby under some restraint, they might neither act or write any thing to the prejudice of good Manners, or to the dishonour of their Laws and Government. And therefore it was, that when they heard of *Archilochus* his arrival at *Sparta* (though a *Lacedæmonian* and of an excellent Wit) yet they presently commanded him to depart the City, having understood how that in a Poem of his, he had affirmed it was a greater Wisdom for a Man to throw his Arms away, and secure himself by flight, then to stand to his own Defence, with the hazard of his Life, or therein to die valiantly in the Field. His words were after this manner,

Let who will boast their Courage in the Field,

I find but little safety from my Shield.

Natures, not Honours Laws we must obey:

This made me cast my uselesſ Shield away,

And by a prudent flight and cunning save

A Life, which Valour could not, from the Grave,

A better Buckler I can soon regain,

But who can get another Life again.

It was a received opinion amongst many Nations, that some of their Gods were propitious only to their Men, and others only to their Women, which made them sometimes prohibit the one and sometimes the other, from being present at their sacred Rites and Solemnities: But the *Lacedæmonians* took away this piece of Superstition by not excluding either Sex from their Temples and Religious Services: but as they were always bred up to the same Civil Exercises, so they were to the same common performances

of their *Holy Mysteries*, that so by an early Knowledge of each other, there might be a real Love and Friendship established betwixt them, which ever stood most firm upon the Basis of Religion.

Their *Virtuous Man*, as he was to do no wrong, so likewise was he not to suffer any without a due Sence and modest Resentment of it; and therefore the *Ephori* laid a *Mult* upon *Seirapidas*, because he could so tamely receive the many Injuries and Affronts was offered him, concluding that he who was so insensible of his own Interest, so as not to stand up in a bold and honest vindication of himself, from the Wrongs and Injustice that may be done to his good Name and Honour, would, without all doubt, be as dull and listless, when an opportunity should invite him to it, in appearing for the Defence of the same and Reputation of his Country.

Action and not Speaking was the study and commendation of a *Spartan*, and therefore polite Discourses and long Haragues was not with them the Character of a wise or learned Man, their Speech being always grave and sententious, without any Ornament or tedious Argumentation; accustoming themselves to brevity, and upon every Subject to *express* themselves in the finest Words, with as much Satyr and Smartness as possible, insomuch as they had a Law among them, for the Instruction of their *Youth*, by which they were enjoined to practice a close and compendious stile in all their *Orations*; which made them banish one *Cephisophon* a talkative *Rhetorician*, for boasting publickly, that he could upon any Subject whatsoever, entertain his *Auditory* for a whole Day together, alledging this as a sufficient Reason for their Justification, that it was the part of a good Orator, to adjust his Discourse according to the *Weight* and *Dignity* of the Matter he was to treat of.

There

There was indeed a strange and unnatural Custom amongst them, annually observed at the Celebration of the bloody Rites of *Diana Orthia*, where there was a certain number of Children, not only of the vulgar sort, but of the Gentry and Nobility, who were whipped almost to Death with Rods, before the Altar of the Goddess, their Parents and Relations standing by ; and all the while exhorting them to Patience and Constancy in Suffering ; which Ceremony, though it lasted for the space of a whole Day, yet they underwent this barbarous Rite, with such a prodigious Chearfulness and Resolution of Mind, as never could be expected from the Softness and Tenderness of their Age : They did not so much as express one little Sigh or Groan during the whole Solemnity, but out of a certain emulation and desire of Glory, there was a great Contention among them, who should excel his Companions in the constancy of enduring the length and sharpness of their pains, and he who held out the longest, was ever the most esteemed and valued Person amongst them, and the Glory and Reputation wherewith they rewarded his Sufferings, rendred his after Life much more Eminent and Illustrious.

They had a very slight regard to *Maritime Affairs*, on the account of an ancient Law amongst them, whereby they were prohibited the applying of themselves to the becoming of good *Seamen*, or engaging themselves in any *Sea-fight* ; though afterwards indeed, through the necessity of Affairs, and the security of their Country, they judged it convenient, when they were invaded by the *Athenians* and other Nations, to furnish themselves with a Navy ; by which it was that *Lyfander*, who was then the General in that Expedition, obtained a great Victory over the *Athenians*, and thereby for a considerable time, secured the Sovereignty of the Seas to themselves : but finding afterwards this grievance arising from it, that there was a very sensible Corruption of good Manners, and decay of Discipline

Discipline amongst them, from the Conversation of their rude and debauched Marriners, they were obliged to lay this Profession wholly aside, and by a revival of this Law, endeavour to retrieve their ancient Sobriety, and by turning the Bent and Inclinations of the People into their old Channel again, to make them tractable and obedient, modest and vertuous, though indeed they did not long hold to their Resolution herein, no more than they were wont to do in other Matters of Moment, which could not but be variable, according to the Circumstances of Affairs, and the Necessities of their Government: For though great Riches and large Possessions, was a thing they hated to Death, it being a capital Crime and Punishment to have any Gold or Silver in their Houses, to amass up together heaps of Money (which was generally made with them of Iron or Leather) and for which reason several had been put to Death, according to that Law which banished *Covetousness* out of the City, on the account of an Answer of their Oracle to *Alcarnenes* and *Theopompus*, two of their Spartan Kings.

That the Love of Money should be the Ruin of Sparta.

Yet notwithstanding the severe penalty annexed to the heaping up much Wealth, and the Example of those who had suffered for it, *Lyfander* was highly honoured and rewarded for bringing in a great quantity of Gold and Silver to *Lacedaemon*, after the Victory he had gained over the *Athenians*, and the taking of the City of *Athens* it self; wherein an inestimable Treasure was found: So that what had been a capital Crime in others, was a meritorious Act in him. It is true indeed, that as long as the City of *Sparta* did adhere closely to the observation of the *Laws* and *Rules* of *Lycurgus* and keep their *Oath* Religiously to be true to their own Government, it out-stripped all the other

other Cities of Greece, for their Prudence and Valour, and for the space of Five Hunderd Years, became famous every where for the Excellency of their Laws, and the Wisdom of their Policy: But when the Honour of these Laws began to lessen, and their Citizens grew *Luxurious* and *Exorbitant*, when Covetousness and too much Liberty had sofined their Minds, and destroyed almost the wholesome Constitution of their State, their former Greatness and Power began by little and little to decay and dwindle in the Estimation of Men; and as by reason of these Vices and ill Customs, they proved unserviceable to themselves, and so likewise they became less formidable to others; insomuch as their several Allies and Confederates, who had with them joyntly carried on their common good and interest, were wholly alienated from them. But although their Affairs were in such a languishing posture, when *Philip* of *Macedon*, after his great Victory at *Cheronea*, was by the *Grecians* declared their *General* both, by Land and Sea, as likewise his Son *Alexander* after the Conquest of the *Thebans*; yet the *Lacedæmonians*, though their Cities had no other Walls for their Security, but only their own Courages; though by Reason of their frequent Wars they were reduced to low Measures and small Numbers of Men; and thereby become so weak as to be an easie Prey to any powerful Enemy, yet retaining amongst them some Reverence for those few Remains of *Lycurgus* his Institution and Government, they could not be brought to assist these two or any other of their *Macedonian* Kings in their Wars and Expeditions; neither could they be prevailed with to assist at their common *Assemblies* and *Consults* with them, nor pay any Tribute or Contributions to them; but when all those Laws and Customs (which are the main Pillars that support a State) enacted by *Lycurgus*, and so highly approved of by the Government, were now universally despised and unobserved, they

they immediately became a prey to the Ambition and Usurpation, to the Cruelty and Tyranny of their Fellow-Citizens; and having no regard at all to their ancient Vertues and Constitution, they utterly lost their ancient Glory and Reputation, and by degrees, as well as weaker Nations, did in a very little time every where degenerate into Poverty, Contempt and Servitude: Being at present Subject to the Romans, as well as all the other Cities of Greece.

Plu.

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. I.

Concerning Musick.

The Persons in the Colloquy are *Onesicratus*, *Soterichus* and *Lysias*.

Translated from the Greek, by J. Philips, Gent.

THE Wife of *Phocion* the Just, was always wont to maintain, that her chiefest Glory consisted in the Warlike Achievements of her Husband: For my part, I am of Opinion, that all my Glory, not only that peculiar to my self, but also what is common to all my familiar Friends and Relations, flows from the Care and Diligence of my Master that taught me Learning: For the most renowned Performances of great Commanders tend only to the Preservation of some few private Souldiers, or the Safety of a single City or Nation, but neither make the Souldiers, nor the Citizens, nor the People any thing the better: But true Learning, being the Essence and Body of Felicity, and the Source of Prudence, we find to be profitable and beneficial, not only to one House, or City, or Nation, but to all the Race of Men. Therefore by how much the more the Benefit and Advantage of Learning transcends the profits of Military Performances, by so much the more is it to be remembred and mentioned, as most worthy your Study and Esteem. For this reason, upon the second Day of the *Saturnalian* Festival, the famous *Onesicratus* invited certain Persons, the best Skill'd in Musick, to a Banquet; by name *Soterichus* of *Alexandria* and *Lysias*,
one

one of those to whom he gave a yearly *Pension*. After all had done, and the Table cleared, *To dive*, said he, *most worthy Friends, into the Nature and Reason of Human Voice, is not an Argument proper for this merry Meeting, as being a Subject that requires a more sober Scrutiny: But because our chiefest Grammarians define the Voice to be, A Percussion of the Air made sensible to the Ear; and for that we were yesterday discoursing of Grammar, which is an Art, that composing and forming both Voice and Speech of various Letters, stores 'em up in the Memory, as in a certain Magazine: Let us consider which is the next Science to this, which may be said to relate to the Voice.* In my Opinion, it must be Musick. For it is one of the chiefest and most religious Duties belonging to Man, to celebrate the Praise of the Gods, who gave to him alone, the most excellling Advantage of Articulate Discourse, as *Homer* has observed in the following Verses.

*With sacred Hymns and Songs that sweetly please
The Grecian Youth, all day the Gods appease;
Their lofty Pæans bright Apollo hears,
And still the charming Sounds delight his Ears.*

Now then, you that are of the grand *Musical Chorus*, tell your Friends, who was the first that brought Musick into use? What Time has added for the Advantage of the Science? Who have been the most famous of its Professors? And lastly, for what, and how far, it may be beneficial to Mankind?

This the Scholar propounded; to which *Lysias* making reply, Noble *Onesicrates*, said he, you desire the Solution of a hard Question, that has been by many already proposed: For of the Platonics the most, of the Peripatetic Philosophers the best have made it their Business to compile several Treatises concerning the Ancient Musick, and the Reasons why it came to loose its pristine Perfection: Nay, the very Grammarians and Musicians themselves,

who

who arrived to the height of Education, have expended much time and study upon the same Subject, whence has arisen great Variety of discording Opinions among the several Writers. *Heraclides* in his Compendium of Musick, asserts. That *Amphion*, the Son of *Jupiter*, and *Antiope*, was the first that invented playing on the Harp, and Lyric Poesie, being first instructed by his Father; which is confirmed by a small Manuscript, preserved in the City of *Sicyone*, wherein is set down a Catalogue of the Priests, Poets and Musicians of *Argos*. In the same Age we read that *Linus* the *Eubæan* composed several Elegies; that *Antbes* of *Anthedon* in *Bootia*, was the first Author of Hymns, and *Pierius* of *Pieria*, the first that wrote in the Praise of the Muses. *Philammon* also, the *Delphian*, set forth in Verse, a Poem in Honour of the Nativity of *Latona*, *Diana* and *Apollo*, and was the first that instituted Dancing about the Temple of *Delphos*. *Thamiris* of *Thracian* Extraction, had the best Voice, and the neatest manner of Singing of any of his Time; so that the Poets feign'd him to be a Contender with the Muses. He is said to have in a Poem, described the *Titans* War against the Gods. There was also *Demodocus* the *Cercyræan*, who is said to have wrote the Destruction of *Troy*, and the Nuptials of *Vulcan* and *Venus*; and then *Phemius* of *Ithica* compos'd a Poem, entituled the Return of those who came back with *Agamemnon*, from that famous Siege. Not that any of these Stories before cited, were compiled in Verse alone, and never set to Musick, but as formerly *Stesichorus*, and other ancient Lyric Poets, they who made the Words, set them also to musical Notes. The same *Heraclides* writes, that *Terpander*, the first that instituted the Lyric Laws, which appointed as well the Meeter and Feet of the Verse, as the musical Measure, Length or Quickness of the Notes, and Number of Parts, according to every one of those determined Rules, set both his own and *Homer's* Words, and then sang them at the publick Tryals of Skill. He was also the first that

gave

gave Names to these Leric Laws, and to the several Parts of the Consort. In imitation of *Terpander*; *Clonas* an *Elegiack* and *Epick* Poet, regulated the Wind-musick, constituting Rules to govern its Tuning and Melody: as also the time and manner of Singing to it. And *Polymnestes*, the *Colophonian*, used the same Measure in his Compositions. Now the Rules and Measures appointed by these Persons, Noble *Onesicrates*, were in reference to such Songs as used to be sung to the Flutes or Pipes, and were distinguished by these Names, *Aporhetus*, *Elegiac*, *Comarchius*, *Shœnion*, *Kepion*; *Deius* and *Trimeles*, or of three Parts.

[§ That these Terms of Art had reference to the Air and Measure of those Songs, which in those Ages were sung to the Flutes and Pipes then in use, is little to be questioned; and that they had also relation to the Dances at the same time, us'd to the same Measures, is as little to be questioned. The *Aporhetus* seems to be explain'd by that which follows both the one and the other; being the graver sort of Musick, made use of upon solemn Occasions. The *Comarchian* seems to be that sort of Dancing and Singing, by *Athenæus*, called by the Name of *Comos*, which was only in use at Festivals and Jovial Revels. The *Schœnion* was another sort of Dance mention'd by *Athenæus*, deriving its Appellation from the Notion and Nimbleness of the Dancers, bowing and bending their Bodies like a *Bulrush*. *Cepion* may be suppos'd to be some shrill sort of Musick, appropriated to *Bucolics*, and the Mirth of Shepherds, from *Kepos*, a Garden or other delightful shady Places; unless it should be otherwise deriv'd from *Kopro*; and then we find a sort of Dance call'd *Polycopos*, that imitated the Gestures of such as bewail'd themselves, and were full of Sorrow; or rather it was a sort of Measure so call'd from *Cepion*, a Scholar of *Terpanders*. *Deius* may be thought to signify some sort of Musick that struck Terror into the Enemy, and encouraged those that us'd it. And thus

thus the *Lacedæmonians* are said to make use of Flutes, to excite their Valour before they engag'd in Battle. *Trimeter* explains it self.

To these, succeeding Ages added another sort, which were call'd *Polymnastia*.

But the Rules of Measure and Time set down for those that play'd and sung to the Harp, being the Invention of *Terpander*, were much more ancient than the former: To which he also gave the several Appellations of *Bæotian*, *Æolian*, * *Trochæan*; The *Acute* or *Shrill sounding Cepion*, *Terpendrian* and *Tetracoedian* or Composition of four Parts.

* Which as *Zarlino* relates, was a sign that the Ancient Souldiers gave with

their Voices, and the Sound of *Trumpets*.

Era la Trochea, says he, *un segno cho davano gli Antichi soldati col canto e'l suona de la Tromba*. The *Trochæan* Measure seems to be the time of our Country Dances, one short down, and one shorter up.

For *Terpander* made Lyric Proems to his Epic Verses. Besides that *Timotheus* testifies, how that the Lyric Rules were anciently appropriated to Epic Verses. Which *Timotheus* intermixing the ancient Rules with Heroic Verses, first brought in use the *Dythyrambick* Measure (adapted for the Songs that were sung in the Praise of *Bacchus*, suitable to the violent Motion of the Body, and the requisite Fury of the Composition) that he might not seem to make too suddain an Innovation upon the ancient Musick. But as for *Terpander*, he seems to have been the most excellent Composer to the Harp of his Age; for he is recorded to have been four times a Victor at the *Pythian Games*: And certainly he was one of the most ancient Musicians in the World; for *Glaucus of Larium* asserts him in his Treaties of the ancient Poets and Musicians, to have liv'd before *Sesichorus*,

chorus, affirming him to be the second next to those that first invented *Wind Musick*:

Alexander in his *Collections of Phrygia*, says, That *Olympus* was the first that brought into *Greece* the manner of touching the Strings with a Quill, the *Ideans* the first that play'd with their Fingers; and *Hyagnis* the first that sang to the Pipe; after him his Son *Marfyas*, then *Olympus*. That *Terpander* imitated *Homer* in his Verses, and *Orpheus* in his Musical Compositions; but that *Orpheus* never imitated any one, in regard that in his time there were none but such as compos'd to the Pipe, which was a manner quite differing from that of *Orpheus*. *Clonas* a Composer of Wind-Musick Measures, and somewhat later then *Terpander*, as the *Arcadians* affirm, was born in *Tegea* (a City of *Arcadia*) or as the *Bæotians* alledge, at *Thebes*. After *Terpander* and *Clonas*, flourish'd *Archilochus*; yet there are some Writers who affirm, that *Ardalus* the *Troezenian* taught the manner of composing to Wind-Musick before *Clonas*. There was also the Poet *Polymnestes*, the Son of *Meles* the *Colophonian*, who invented the *Polymnestian* Measures. They farther write, that *Clonas* limited the *Apothetos* and *Schoenion* to their distinct Rules. Of *Polymnestes*, mention is made by *Pindar* and *Almas*, both Lyric Poets, but of several of those Rules, said to be instituted by *Terpander*, they make *Phylammon* the ancient *Delphian* Author. Now the Musick appropriated to the Harp, such as it was in the time of *Terpander*, continu'd the same, till *Phrynis* grew into Esteem. For it was not the ancient Custom to make use of Harps so form'd and fashion'd as now, nor to intermix the Moods and Measures of Time, in regard they observ'd the same Cast peculiar to the several Moods, which were

were known by their several Names ; they being therefore called Rules and Limitations, because it was lawful to alter the Form of Time and Measure appointed to every one in particular. At length, falling from their Devotion to the Gods, they began to sing the Verses of *Homer* and other Poets. This is manifest by the Proems of *Terpander*. Then for the Form of the Harp, it was such as *Kepion*, one of *Terpander*'s Scholars first caus'd to be made, and it was call'd the *Asian* Harp, because the *Lesbian* Harpers bordering upon *Asia* always made use of it. This sort of Harp *Pericleitus* a *Lesbian* was one of the last that us'd, when he won the Prize from his Antagonist, at one of the *Spartan* Festivals, call'd * *Carneia* : but he being dead, that Succession of skilful Musicians, which had so long continued among the *Lesbians*, expir'd. Some there are who erroneously believe that *Hipponactes* was contemporary with *Terpander*, when it is plain that *Hipponactes* lived after *Pericleitus*.

* A Feast in imitation of Martial Encamping, not much unlike the Feast of *Tabernacles* among the Jews, *Casab.* upon *Athenæus*.

Having thus discours'd of the several Sorts of the ancient musical Measures and Compositions, appropriated as well to the String'd as Wind Instruments both together, we will now speak something in particular, concerning the Rules peculiar to the Wind Instruments. First they say, that *Olympus* a *Phrygian* Player upon the Flute, invented a certain Measure in Honour of *Apollo*, which he call'd † *Polycephalus*, or of many Heads. This † *Pindarus* mentions *Olympus*, they say was descended from the first *Olympus*, the Son of *Marsyas*, who invented several Pipe inventions this to be a Pipe invented by *Minnerva*, with its peculiar Measures, called *Normos* *pollon* *Kephalon*, quia *multiplex*, says the Comment, & quasi diversorum corporum Tibits est *sonus*, *Pythior*, Ode. 12. p. 482, 483.

Forms of Composition in Honour of the Gods ; who being a Boy beloved of *Marfyas*, and by him taught to play upon the Flute, first brought into Greece the Laws of *Harmony*. Others ascribe the *Polycephalus* to *Crates*, the Scholar of *Olympus* ; though *Prasinas* will have *Olympus* the Younger, to be the Author of it. The

* This seems to be *Lacurule* of *Zarlin*, where-with was composed and sung the Story of *Hector's* being dragged with a Chariot about the Walls of *Troy*.

* *Harmatian* Mood is also said to be invented by *Olympus* the Scholar of *Marfyas*. This *Marfyas* was by some said to be called *Maffes* ; which others deny, not allowing him any other

Name but that of *Marfyas*, the Son of *Hyagnes*, that first invented the Art of Playing upon the Pipe. But that *Olympus* was the Author of the *Harmatian* Mood, is plainly to be seen in *Glaucus's* Treatise of the ancient Poets, and that *Stesichorus* the *Himeræan*, imitated neither *Orpheus* or *Terpander*, nor *Antiloehus* nor *Thales*, but *Olympus*, and that he made use of the *Harmatian* Mood, and the *Dactyl*

† This Mood consisted of swift and loud Notes, and was used to inflame the Courage of Souldiers going to Battle, mentioned by *Homer* in his seventh Book of *Iliads*, and described by *Estathius*. This Mood *Arion* made use of when he flung himself into the Sea, as *Gellius* writes, and the Time was two down and four up. *Moi-bemius* upon *Aristides*.

Dance (described by *Hesychius*) which some rather apply to the † *Orthian* Mood, while others aver it to have been the Invention of the *Myfians* : For that some of the ancient Pipers were *Myfians*. There was also another Mood in use among the Ancients, called *Eradias*, which *Hipponax* the *Mimnermian* always delighted in : For formerly they that play'd upon the Flute, sang also Elogies at the same time set to Notes. Which the De-

scription of the *Panathenians*, concerning the musical Combat makes manifest. Among the rest, *Sacadas* of *Argos* set several Odes and Elogies in Musick, he himself being also a good Poet, and thrice

thrice a Victor at the *Pythian Games*. Of him *Pindar* makes mention; for *Polymnestes* and *Sacadas* having to those before invented, added three other Limitations or Keys, the *Dorian*, *Phrygian* and *Lydian*, it is said that *Sacadas* compos'd a Stroph in every one of those Keys, and then taught the *Chorus's* to sing, the first after the *Dorian* manner, the second according to the *Phrygian*, and the third after the *Lydian* manner; and this was call'd the threefold Manner, by reason of the shifting of the Moods: although in the *Sicyonian* Catalogue of the Poets, *Clonas* is said to be the Inventor of the Threefold Mixture of Composition. But, in truth, Musick received its first Laws and Limitations of Moods and Keys from *Terpander* at *Sparta*. Of the second Constitution, *Thales* the *Gortinean*, *Xenodamus* the *Cytherian*, *Xenocritus* the *Locrian*, and *Polymnestes* the *Colophonian*, were deservedly acknowledged to be the Author's: For these having introduced the * *Gymnopædius* into *Lacedæmon*, settled their *Specimens* among the *Arcadians* and their *Edumata*, so call'd in *Argos*. Now the Scholars of *Thales*, *Xenodamus* and *Xenocritus* were Poets that addicted themselves altogether to making of *Hymns*: The Followers of *Polymnestes* were all for the *Orthian* or Military strain, and the Admirers of *Sacadas* studied nothing but Elogies. Others, and among the rest *Pratinas* affirm, *Xenodamus* to have been a Maker of Songs for Dances, and not of Hymns; and he cites a Tune of *Xenodamus*, which plainly appears to have been compos'd for a Dance. Now that a Hymn differs from a Song made for a Dance, is manifest from the Poems of *Pindar*, who made

* *Chorus's* of Youths that danced naked, the one to the *Right*, the other to the *Left-hand*, using Military Gesture and Postures. Singing at the same time the Songs of *Alomon* and *Thales*.

both, and *Polymnestes* compos'd the Wind-Musick; but in the *Orthian* Mood he made use of his Lyrick Vein, as the Students in Harmony declare. But in this we cannot be positive, because we have nothing of certainty concerning it from Antiquity; and whether *Thales* of *Crete* were a composer of Hymns, is much doubted; For *Glaucus* asserting *Thales* to be born after *Archilochus*, says, that he imitated the Odes of *Archilochus*, only he made them longer, and adapted his Words to the *Maronian* and *Cretan* Time, which neither *Archilochus*, nor *Orpheus*, nor *Terpander* ever did, only *Thales* learnt this sort of Cast from *Olympus's* Play, and became a good Poet besides. As for *Xenocrites* the *Locrian*, it is much question'd whether he were a Maker of Hymns or no, as being one that always took Heroical Actions for the Subject of his Verses, for which reason some there were who call'd his Arguments *Dythyrambic*; and then *Glaucus* asserts *Thales* to have preceded him in time.

Olympus, by the Report of *Aristoxenus*, is suppos'd by the Musicians to have been the Inventor of the *Enharmonic Species* of Musick; for before him there was no other than the *Diatonic* and *Chromatic*. And it is thought that the Invention of the *Enharmonic Species* was thus brought to pass; for that *Olympus* before altogether composing and playing in the *Diatonic Species*, and having frequent Occasion to shift into *Elami*, in the Tenor sometimes falling from *B fabimi*, sharp in the Tenor, sometimes from *Alamire* above that, and skipping the first *G sol re ut*, he found the sweetness of those Changes, and admiring a Conjunction or Scheme so agreeable to Proportion, made this new *Species* in the *Doric* Mood, which cannot

not be applied to things proper to the *Diatonic*, nor to things proper to the *Chromatic*. So that the first Foundations of *Enharmonic* Music, which he laid, were these, That in *Enharmonics*, the first Sponde was so plac'd, where none of the Divisions shew'd their own proper Nature, unless any one should take the more intense Tone of the Note held out to be *Diatonic*, which he that maintain'd would maintain a Falshood and a Repugnancy to true Singing. False, because it would be less by a *Diefis* or *Sharp* then the Tone next the leading Note. Absurd to be sung; for that if the proper Nature of the more intense holding the Note should be placed in the Strength of the Tone, it would then come to pass, that two Tones would follow in order, the one compounded, the other uncompounded: For the thick *Enharmonic* now us'd in the middle Parts, does not seem to be the Invention of the forementioned Author. But this is more easily understood by hearing any one of the ancient Musicians play: For then you shall find the Semitone in the middle Parts to be uncompounded.

These were the beginnings of *Enharmonic* Music, afterwards the Semitone was also divided, as well in the *Phrygian* as *Lydian* Moods. But *Olympus* having a desire to advance Music, resolv'd to produce something never known or heard of before, that he might gain to himself the Honour of being the most Excellent, not only in the *Grecian*, but in all other Music.

Let us now proceed to Measure and Time; for as there were several Varieties of Time and Measure, so there was of those that were the first Inventors of each. And here *Terpander*, among all those Novelties with which he adorn'd Music, introduc'd those grave and decent Motions that gave it much Life. After him, beside in the *Terpandrian* which he did not relinquish, *Polymnestes* brought in use another of his own, retaining however the former Decorum, as did also *Thales* and *Sacadas*, who, though happy also in their Inventions, yet kept within the Bounds of Decency.

ther Innovations were also made by *Alkmas* and *Stesichorus*, who nevertheless receded not from the ancient Forms. But *Crexus*, *Timotheus* and *Philoxenus*, and those other Poets of the same Age, growing more arrogant and studious of Novelty, affected those other Manners now called *Philanthropic* and *Thematic* : For then the small *Chorus*'s, the Plainness and Majesty of Music was looked upon as ancient and out of date.

And now having discoursed to the best of my Ability, of the ancient Music, and the first Inventors of it, and how succeeding Ages brought it to more and more perfection, I shall make an end, and give way to my Friend *Soterichus*, not only greatly skill'd in Music, but in all the rest of the Sciences. For we have always rather labour'd the Practical then Contemplative Part : Which when *Lyfias* had said, he forbore speaking any farther ; but then *Soterichus* thus began,

Most Noble *Onofricrates*, said he, since you have engag'd us to speak our Knowledge concerning the most venerable Excellencies of Musick, and most pleasing to the Gods, I cannot but approve the Learning of our Master *Lyfias*, and his great Memory in reciting all the Inventers of the ancient Music, and of those who have wrote concerning it. But I must needs say, that he has given us this Account, only trusting to the Authors which he has read. We on the other side have not heard of any Man that was the Inventer of the Benefits of Music, but only God *Apollo*, adorn'd with all manner of Vertue. The *Flute* was neither the Invention of *Marfyas*, nor *Olympus*, nor *Hyagnis*. Nor was the Harp *Apollo*'s Invention only, but as a God he was the Inventer both of the Flute and Harp, that is, of all Vocal and Instrumental Music. This is manifest from the Dances and Sacrifices which were solemnized to *Apollo*, as *Alcaeus* and others in their Hymns relate. His Statue also placed in the Temple of *Delos* holds in his Right-hand a Bow, at his Left the Graces stand with every one a Musical Instrument in their Hands ; one carrying a Harp, another

another a Flute, another with a Shepherds Pipe set to her Lips. And that this is no conceit of mine, appears from this, that *Articles* and *Ister* have testified the same in their Commentaries upon these things. And the Statue is reported to be so Ancient, that the Artificers were said to have lived in the time of *Hercules*. The Youth also that carries the *Tempic* Laurel into *Delphos*, is accompanied by one playing upon the Flute. And the sacred Presents of the *Hyperboreans* were sent of old to *Delos*, attended with Flutes, Pipes and Harps. Some have thought that the God himself play'd upon the Flute, as the best of Lyrics, *Alkman* relates. *Corynna* also asserts, that *Apollo* was by *Minerva* taught to Pipe. Venerable is therefore Music altogether, as being the Invention of the Gods. The Ancients made use of it for its Worth, as they did all other beneficial Sciences: But our Men of Art contemning its ancient Majesty, instead of that manly, grave, heaven-born Music, so acceptable to the Gods, have brought into the Theaters a sort of effeminate musical Tatling, meer Sound without Substance: Which *Plato* utterly rejects in his Third Book of his Common-wealth; refusing the *Lydian* Harmony as only fit for Lamentations; the first Institution of which, he therefore says was very doleful. And *Aristoxenus* in his First Book of Music, tells us, how that *Olympus* sang an Elogy upon the Death of *Python* in the *Lydian* Mood, though some will have *Menalippides* to be the Author of that Song. *Pindarus* asserts, that the *Lydian* Harmony was first used in the *Epithalamiums* upon the Nuptials of *Niobe*. Others affirm, that *Torebus* was the first that made use of that sort of Harmony; among the rest, *Dionysius* the *Iambick* Writer. The mix'd *Lydian* moves the Affections, and is fit for Tragedies. This Mood, as *Aristoxenus* alledges, was invented by *Sappho*, from whom the Tragedians learnt it, and joyn'd it with the *Doric*; in regard the one becomes a majestic lofty Stile, the other mollifies and stirs to pity; both which are the Properties of Tragedy; though the

History

History of Music made *Pythocleides*, the Flute-player, to be the Author of it; and *Lyfis* reports, That *Laniprocles* the *Athenian*, finding that the Conjunction of the two Moods, was not where almost all others thought it had been, but toward the Treble, made such a Scheme, as is now from *Alamire* in the Tenor to *Are* in the Base. But for the softer *Lydian*, being contrary to the mix'd *Lydian*, and like the *Ionian*, they say it was invented by *Damon* by the *Athenian*: But as for those sorts of Harmony, the one being sad and doleful, the other loose and effeminate, *Plato* deservedly rejected them, and made choice of the *Dorian*, as more proper for Sober and Warlike Men. Not being ignorant however, as *Aristoxenus* Discourses in his Second Book of Music, that there might be something advantageous in the rest to a circumspect and wary Commonwealth: For *Plato* attributed much to the Art of Music, as being the Hearer of *Draco* the *Athenian*; and *Metellus* the *Agrigentum*; but considering, as we have intimated before, that there was much more Majesty in the *Dorian* Mood, it was that he preferred. He knew moreover that *Alcmas*, *Pindar*, *Simonides* and *Bacchylides* had composed several *Parthenia* in the *Doric* Mood; and that several Profodies (or Supplications to the Gods) several Hymns and Tragical Lamentations, and now and then Love Verses were composed to the same Melody: But he contented himself with such Songs as were made in Honour of *Mars* or *Minerva*, or else to be sung at the solemn Offerings, called *Spondia*: For these he thought sufficient to fortifie and raise the Mind of a sober Person; not at all ignorant in the mean time of the *Lydian* and *Ionian*, of which he knew the Tragedians made use, and that all the Ancients, well understanding all the sorts of Moods, had not refused some of the best. For it was not their Unskilfulness that confined them to such narrow Instruments and so few Strings; nor was it out of Ignorance, That *Olympus* and *Terpander*, and those that came after them, would not admit

of

of larger Instruments and more Variety of Strings ; which is manifest from the Poems of *Olympus* and *Terpander*, and all those that were their Imitators : For being plain, and without any more than three Strings, they differed so far from those that were more numerously strung ; insomuch that none could imitate *Olympus's* Play ; and they were all inferior to him when they betook themselves to their *Polychords*. Then again, that the Antients were not so ignorant as to abstain from the third String, their use of it in Play makes apparent : For had they not known the Use of it, they would never have struck it in *sonnance* to *Elami* ; but the Elegancy and Gravity that attended the *Pavan Measure*, by omitting the third string, this induced them to transfer the Music into *C sol fa ut*, with a flat Third : The same reason may serve for *G sol re ut* in the Counter Tenor, for this in Play they strook a Concord to *C sol fa ut*, but a Discord to *Alamire*, and *F fa ut* below, so that according to the Nature of the Composition, it did not seem proper to the slow Spondiac Motion of the Song (that seemed to consist all of *Semibreifs* and long Notes.) Thus the Antients all made use of *Ela*, for in Play they strook it with *D la sol re*, *B fa bemi* sharp in the Tenor, and *G sol re ut* in the Tenor, but in singing those Touches were no way allowable, as being ungrateful to the Ear, and shaming the Performer. As certain it is that the *Phrygians* were not ignorant of *Olympus* nor his Followers ; for they made use of his manner of Play and Composition, not only in *Pulsation*, but in the measure of his Verses in their Hymns to the Mother of the Gods, and several other *Phrygian* Songs. Nor is it less apparent, that they ever abstain'd for want of skill, in reference to the *Hypate* or *Are* Note, from that *Tetrachord* (from *Are* to *d sol re*) in the *Dorian* Mood ; but in other Moods they knowingly made use of it, well understanding that such a Fourth from a sharp to a sharp was not Natural, and therefore removed it from the *Dorian* Mood to preserve its Elegant Gravity, which was also observ'd by the *Tragedians*. But for the *Chromatic*

Species

Species, even to this day, the *Tragedians* never us'd it; which was done by those that play'd upon the Harp, by many Ages antienter than the *Tragedians*. Now that *Chromatic* was antienter then *Enharmonic* is plain; for we must necessarily account it of greater Antiquity, according to the Custom and Use of Men themselves; otherwise it cannot be said that any of the Differences and Distinctions were ancients the one then the other. Therefore, if any one should alledge that *Eschylus* or *Phrynibus* abstain'd from the *Chromatic* out of Ignorance, would he not be thought to maintain a very great Absurdity; for such a one may aver, That *Panocrates* lay under the same Blindness, who avoided it in most, but made use of it in some things; therefore he forbore not out of Ignorance but Judgment imitating *Pindar* and *Simonides*, and that which is at present called the ancient Manner. The same may be said of *Tyrtaeus* of *Mantineæ*, *Andreas* the *Corinthian*, *Thrasullus* the *Phleasian*, and several others, who, as well we know, abstain'd from the *Chromatic* and *Polychords*, which occasion'd shifting of Moods, change of Measure and Time, and Variation of Feet and Verses, not for want of Knowledge, but out of Judgment. *Telephanes* of *Megara* was so great an Enemy to the Pipe made of Reed, called *Syrinx*, that he would not suffer the Instrument-maker to joyn it to the * *Tibia*, or Pipe made of Wood (generally of the *Lote Tree*) or Horn (like our *Cornets*) and for that reason chiefly, forbore to go to the *Pythian Games*. In short, if a man shall be thought to be ignorant of that which he makes no use of, there would be found a great Number of ignorant Persons in this Age: For we see that the Admirers of the *Dorian Composition* make no use of the *Antiginedian*: The Followers of the *Antiginedian* reject the *Dorians*. And other Musicians refuse to imitate *Timotheus*, being almost all bewitch'd with the Trifles and idle Poems of *Polyeides*. On the other side, if we dive into the Business of Variety,

and

* Of the several sorts of Pipes, see *Athenæus*, p. 176. l. 4.

and compare Antiquity with the present Times, we shall find there was great Variety then, and that frequently made use of : For then the variation of Feet and Time was more highly esteemed, and the Change of their manner of Play more frequent. We are now lovers of Learning, they were then lovers of Time and Measure. Plain it is therefore, that the Ancients did not refrain from broken measures out of Ignorance, but out of Judgment, and yet what Wonder is this? When there are so many other things necessary to Human Life, which are not unknown, though not made use of by those who have no occasion to use them : But they are refused, and the use of them altogether neglected, as not being found proper in many Designs of Composition. But that *Plato*, neither for want of Skill or Ignorance blam'd all the other Moods, and casts of Composition, is so far demonstrable, that from thence it appears he was the better Musician. For in his Discourse concerning the Procreation of the Soul, inserted into *Timæus*, he has made known his great Knowledge in all the Sciences, and of Music, among the rest in this manner. After this, saith he, he filled up the double and treble Intervals, taking Parts from thence, and adding them to the midst between them, so that there was in every Interval two *Mediums*. This Proem was the Effect of his Experience in Music, as we shall presently make out. The *Mediums* from whence every *Medium* is taken, are three, Arithmetical, Geometrical, Enharmonical. Of these the first exceeds, or is exceeded in Number, the second in Proportion, the third neither in Number nor Proportion : *Plato* therefore desirous to shew the Animal Harmony of the four Elements, and Harmonically also to explain the Reason of that mutual Concord among discording and jarring Principles, undertakes to make out two Animal *Mediums* in every Interval, according to Harmonical Proportion. Thus in a musical Octave, there happen to be two middle Distances, whose Proportion we shall explain. As for the Octaves, they keep a double Proportion

Proportion between their two *Extreams*; for *Example*, let the double Arithmetical Proportion be 6 and 12, and let this be between * *D sol re* and *D la sol re*,

* Here I follow the larger Scheme of *Gaudentias*, who best explains the four Ancient *Tetrachords*.

6 therefore and 12 being the two *Extreams*, *D sol re* contains the Number 6, and *D la sol re* 12 : To these are to be added the Numbers falling between, whose *Extreams* hold the Proportion, the one of a

Sesquiterce, exceeding the next to it one, and one third part, and the other of a *Sesquialter*, or one and a half. These are the Numbers 8 and 9, for as 8 contains 6, and one third of 6, so 9 contains 6 and half 6. Thus you have one *Extream*. The other is 12, containing 9, and a third part of 9, and 8 and half 8; these then being the Numbers between 6 and 12, and the Interval of the Octave consisting of a *Diatefferon* and a *Diapente*, it is plain that the Number 8 belongs to *G sol re ut*, and the Number 9 to *Alamire*; which being so, it follows that *D sol re* is to *G sol re ut*, as *Alamire* to *D la sol re*, for as it is a fourth from *D sol re* to *G sol re ut*, so is it from *Alamire* to *D la sol re*; but from *D sol re* to *D la sol re* an Octave. The same Proportion will be also found in the Numbers: For as 6 is to 8, so is 9 to 12, 6 being a *Sesquiterce* to 8, as 12 to 9, and 9 a *Sesquialter* to 6, as 12 to 8. What has been said may suffice to shew how far *Plato* was learned in the Liberal Sciences. Now that there is something of Majesty, something of great and Divine in Music, *Aristotle*, who was *Plato's* Scholar, thus labours to convince the World. *Harmony*, saith he, descended from Heaven, and is of a Divine, Noble and Angelic Nature; but being foretold as to its Efficacy, it has two Mediums, the one Arithmetical, the other Enharmonical. As for its Members, its Dimensions, and its Excesses of Intervals they are best discover'd by Number and Equality of Measure, the whole Art being contained in two *Tetrachordons*. These are his Words, the Body of it, he saith, consists of discording Parts, yet concurring one with another; whose

Mediums

Mediums nevertheless agree according to Arithmetical Proportion : For the upper part of the String being screw'd down in a due Proportion produces a perfect *Diapason*. Thus, as we said before, *D la sol re* consisting of 12 Unites, and *D sol re* of six, *D la sol re* accords with *D sol re*, according to the *Sesquialter* Proportion of 9 Unites, whilst *G sol re ut* bears the Proportion of 8 Unites. So that the chiefest Intervals through the whole Scale are the *Diatesseron* (which is the *Sesquiterce* Proportion) the *Diapante* (which is the *Sesquialter* Proportion) and the *Diapason* (which is the *Duple* Proportion) saving all this while to the sesquioctave his Due ; which, according to Tonick Proportion, exceeds 8, and is less then 9 by a Point : With the same Inequalities of Excess or Diminution, all the Extreame are differenced one from another, and the *Mediums* from the *Mediums*, either according to the Quantity of the Numbers, or the Measure of Geometry. Which *Aristotle* thus explains, observing that *D la sol re* exceeds *G sol re ut* by a third part, and that *Alamire* exceeds *D sol re* as much : So that the Excesses and Diminutions seem to be relative, while some Extreame exceed in proportion, others are exceeded ; the Extreame of *G sol re ut*, and *Alamire* exceeding, and being exceeded by a *Sesquiterce*, and 2 *Sesquialter*. Now these Excesses are Harmonical ; but the Distances of *D la sol re* and *G sol re ut* are governed by Arithmetical Proportion, as also the Distances between *Alamire* and *D sol re* : For *G sol re ut* is distant from *Alamire* in a Sesquioctave Proportion : *D la sol re* from *D sol re* in a Duple Proportion : *Alamire* from *D sol re* in a *Sesquialter*, *G sol re ut* in a *Sesquiterce* Proportion from *D sol re*. And thus it is plain from the Authority of *Aristotle*, that Music is measured by Number and Distance : Though according to natural Philosophy, he makes it also to consist in general of Infinite and Finite, and of Even and Odd. All together it is even, as consisting of four Ternis ; Even, Odd, Even and Odd. So *D la sol re* is even, as consisting of 12 Unites. *Alamire*
odd

odd in proportion to 9 ; *G sol re ut* even in proportion to 8, and *D sol re* even and odd in proportion to 6. Whence it comes to pass that Music agreeing with her Parts in Distance and Proportion, the whole accords with the whole, and the Parts agree one with another.

But now as for the Senses that operate harmoniously in the Body, they also being of celestial and heavenly extraction, by the Divine Assistance and Permission, enoble Mankind with those high Advantages of Sight and Hearing ; and they, the two Superior, by imparting Voice and Light, which those others, their Attendants, acting in their several Offices, manifestly declare, that they themselves consist of Harmony. For though the Attendants seem inferior, yet they yield not to the other two. In regard that for necessary Causes being present with God in Human Bodies, they also claim a vigorous and most incomparable Excellency. Manifest from hence therefore it is, why the antient *Greeks*, probably more than others, were so careful to teach their Children Music : For they deem'd it requisite by the Assistance of Music, to form and compose the Minds of Youth to what was decent, sober and vertuous ; believing the Use of Music beneficially efficacious to incite to all serious Actions, especially to the adventuring upon warlike Dangers ; to which purpose they made use of Pipes or Flutes, when they advanc'd in Battle Array against their Enemies. Like the *Lacedemonians*, who upon the same Occasion caused the

* A sort of loud Musick, to which was added a Military Dance, slow in Motion, not to disorder their Ranks : This sort of Military Dance was called also *Embaterion*, or the Charing Dance, and *Enoplion*, or the Armed Dance. *Pindarus* tells us, that the *Castorean* Harmony was made choice of to entertain *Hiero* ; and that the Musicians at the same time, made use of *Eolian* Harps. *Pyth. Od. 2.*

* *Castorean* Tunes and Measures to be plaid before their Battallions. Others inflam'd their Courage with Harps, playing the same sort of Harmony when they went to look Danger in the Face ; as the *Cretians* did for a long time. Thus the Trumpet is used among

among us for the same purpose, having succeeded the Pipe as an Instrument more Sonorous. The *Argives* made use of *Fifes* at their Wrestling Matches, call'd *Schenia*; which sort of Sport was at first instituted in Honour of *Danaus*, but afterwards consecrated to *Jupiter Schenius*, or *Jupiter* the Mighty: And now at this Day it is the Custom to make use of *Fifes* at the Games called *Pentathla*, which consisted of Cuffing, Running, Dancing, Hurling the Ball and Wrestling; but without Skill of Composition, not according to the Custom of the Antients; like that Music, which *Hierax* set a purpose for his Game, which was called *Endrome*, or the Race Music, which though it were sorry Stuff, and without Rule, seem'd well enough in that Place. But among the Antients, Music in Theaters was never known; for they imploy'd their whole Skill in the Worship of the Gods, and the Education of Youth; at what time there being no Theatres erected, Music was yet confin'd within the Walls of their Temples, as being that with which they Worshipped the Supreme Deity, and sang the Praises and Encomiums of vertuous men, and then indeed the Words *Theatre* and *Theorein*, to behold, might well challenge their Derivation from *Theos* (God, as now it seems to do, though more unworthily. But our Age were such another Face of new Inventions, that there is not the least Remembrance or Care of the Use of Music, which related to Education; for all our Musicians make it their Business to court the Theatre Muses, and study nothing but Compositions for the Stage: But some will say, must we have always old fashion'd Music? Is there no room for new Invention? Yes, say I, let them invent, but let their Inventions be grave and decent. The Ancients themselves were still adding and inventing; and therefore they who have written the History of Musics Progress, attribute to *Terpander* the Addition of *G sol re ut* in the Counter Tenor to the *Doric* mood, which before was not in use. Even the whole *Myxolidian* mood is a new Invention;

Such were also the *Orthian* manner, and the *Trochean*, not much differing from it, called the *Signal-giver*, because it founded the Signal of Battle. And, if we believe *Pindar*,

* These Songs were sung at their Publick Festivals, where they drank hard, repeating often the Word *Kottabi*, from the Game *Kottabus*, much us'd at those drinking Bouts, by throwing the Tumblers they drank in about the Table like so many Dice, and taking their Chance from that part of the Cap that lay uppermost.

Terpander was the Inventer of the * *Scholian* Songs. *Archilochus* also invented the *Trimeter* Descant, and the Time of differing long and short Notes, and how to vary and beat the time in Pulsation. He is also presum'd to be the Author of *Epodes*, *Tetrameters*, the *Procritic* and * *Prosodiac*

Time and the Augmentation of the First. Some make him Author also of the *Elegiac* measure, as likewise of the holding out the *Iambick* to the † *Pæon Epibatus*; with the prolonging the Heroic to the *Prosodiac* and || *Cretec*: But for the *Iambick* Time, both in Playing and Singing, *Archilochus* is first said to have taught it, from whom the *Tragedians* learnt it; and from them *Crexus* took it, and made use of it in his *Dythirambics*. Of the *Hypolydian* mood, they make *Polymnestes* the Inventor, and the first that taught the manner of Singing soft and loud, in imitation of which, we use the *Italian Adagio* and *Allegro*. To the same *Olympus*, to whom they also ascribe the first Invention of *Grecian* and well regulated Music, they attribute likewise the finding out the *Enharmonic* Music, the *Prosodiac* measure, to which he compos'd his Hymn to *Mars*; and the *Chorian* measure in the Hymns to the Mother of

* The *Prosodiac* Time was of three sorts, either consisting of three Feet, thus, $\cup \cup | \cup - | - \cup$, or of four $\cup \cup | \cup - | - \cup | \cup -$, or of two Couples $\cup - - \cup | - - \cup \cup$
 $- \cup \cup - | - - \cup \cup$

down up down up

† The *Pæon Epibatos* was two fold $- | - |$ or $- - | -$
 down up

|| The *Creteck* was no more then $- \cup | - \cup$

the

up down up down

the God (marked thus - | u u or thus u u | - Some report him to be the Author also of the *Bacchian Time* (*which was of two sorts*, Bacchius ab Iambo, u - | - u, or Bacchius a Trochæo - u | u -) And these, as it is clearly manifest, were the measures of the ancient Music : But *Lafus* of *Harmonic* translating the measures to his *Dythirambic* Compositions, and making use of an Instrument with many Holes, through the Addition of several Notes and half Notes, made an absolute Innovation upon the ancient Music. In like manner *Menalippides* the Lyric Poet, *Philoxenus* and *Timotheu's* all forsook the ancient Music. For he, until the time of *Terpander* the *Antissean*, using only a Harp with seven Strings, afterwards added a great Number, and gave his Compositions a larger Extent : And the Wind-music exchanged its ancient Plainness for a more copious Variety. For in ancient Times, when Poetry had the Precedency, the Wind-music received Salaries from the Poets to assist those who taught the Actors ; till *Menalippides* the *Dithyrambic* came into request. Afterwards that Custom grew out of Date ; insomuch that *Pherocrates* the *Comedian*, brings in Music in Woman's Habit with her Face bruised and batter'd, and then introduces *Justice*, asking the Reason, to which *Poesie* thus replies,

'Tis mine to speak, thy Part to hear,
 And therefore lend a willing Ear :
 Much have I suffer'd, long oppress'd
 By Menalippides, that Beast ;
 He hal'd me from Parnassus Springs,
 And plagu'd me with a dozen Strings :
 His Rage how'er suffic'd not yet,
 To make my Miseries compleat.
 Cinesias, that cursed Attic,
 A meer Poetical Pragmatic,

*Such horrid Strophs in mangl'd Verse,
 Made th' unharmonious Stage rehearse,
 That I, tormented with the Pains
 Of cruel Dithyrambic Strains,
 Distorted lay, that you would swear,
 The Right side now the Left side were ;
 Nor did my Miseries end here :
 For Phrynes, with his Whirlwind Brains,
 Wringing and racking all my Veins,
 Ruin'd me quite while fine small Wires,
 With Harmonies twice six he tires :
 Yet might not he so much be blam'd,
 From all his Errors soon reclaim'd :
 But then Timotheus with his Freeks,
 Furrow'd my Face, and plough'd my Cheeks.*

Justice. Say, which of them so Vile could be ?

*Poesie. Milesian Pyrras, that was he,
 Whose Fury tortur'd me much more,
 Then all that I have nam'd before,
 Where e'er I walk the Streets alone,
 If met by him, the angry Clown
 With his twelve Cats-guts strongly bound,
 There left me helpless on the Ground.*

Aristophanes the Comick Poet, making mention of Aristoxenus, complains of his introducing Lyric

** Cyclos Epicus* Verses among the ** Circular Chorus's* where he brings in Musick thus speaking.

whole Body of Mythology, out of which the antient Poets took the Arguments of their Tragedies, for which reason the *Chorus's* of those Tragedies were called *Chori Epicylitii*.

*He fill'd me with his Measures nothing airy,
 Wicked Hyperboleons, and Nigrari ;
 And to uphold the Follies of his Play,
 Like a lank Radish bow'd me every way.*

Other Comedians have since set forth the Absurdity of those who have been slicers and manglers of Music.

Now that the right moulding or ruin of ingenious Manners and civil Conduct, lies in a well grounded musical Education, *Aristoxenus* has made apparent. For of those that were contemporary with him, he gives an account of *Telesias* the *Theban*, who being a Youth, was bred up in the noblest *Excellencies* of Music, and moreover, studied the Works of the most famous Lyrics, *Pindar*, *Dionysius* the *Theban*, *Lamprus*, *Pratinas*, and all the rest who were accounted most eminent, that he played also to perfection upon the Flute, and was not a little industrious to furnish himself with all those other Accomplishments of Learning : But being past the Prime of his Age, he was so bewitched with the Theatres new Fangles, and Innovations of multiplied Notes, that despising those Noble Precepts, and that solid Practise to which he had been educated, he betook himself to *Philoxenus* and *Timotheus*, and among those delighted chiefly in such as were most depraved with diversity of Notes, and baneful Innovation. And yet when he made it his Business to make Verses, and labour both ways, as well in that of *Pindar* as that of *Philoxenus*, he could have no Success in the latter : And the Reason proceeded from the Truth and Exactness of his first Education. Therefore if it be the Aim of any Person to practise Musick with Skill and Judgment, let him imitate the ancient manner, let him also adorn it with those other Sciences, and make Philosophy his Tutor ; which is sufficient to judge what is in Musick decent and useful. For Musick being generally divided into three Parts, *Diatonic*, *Chromatic* and *Enharmonic*, it behoves an understanding Artist to know which of these three Kinds are most proper for such and such Measures and Subjects of Poetry, and to be capable of the true meaning of the Sence of what he goes about to set. First therefore we are to consider, that all Musical Learning is an Application to an Art, which does not

teach the Reason of her Precepts, at one and the same time, nor all together.

Moreover we are to understand that to such an Education, there is not requisite an Enumeration of its several Divisions, but every one learns by chance what either the *Master* or the *Scholar*, according to the Authority of the one, and the Liberty of the other, has most affection for. But the more prudent sort rejected this chance medly way of Learning; as the *Lacedæmonians* of old, the *Mantineans* and *Pelleians*; who making choice either of one single method, or else but very few, used only that sort of *Musick*, which they deem'd most proper to regulate the Inclinations of Youths. This will be apparent, if any one shall examin every one of the Parts, and see what is the Subject of their several Contemplations. For *Musick* takes cognizance of the aptitude of the Voice of Intervals, Systems or Scales, Notes, Tones and systematical Transmutation in reference to the Moods. Farther than this it goes not. And therefore it would be in vain to enquire of *Musick*, whether the Poet have chosen a proper Subject or have made a right choice of the *Dorian* in the beginning; of the mixed *Lydian* and *Dorian* at the end, or the *Hypophrygian* and *Phrygian* in the middle. For the Industry of Harmony reaches not to these, as being defective in many other things; as not understanding the Force and Extent of Elegant Aptness and proper Concinnity. Neither did ever the *Chromatic* or *Enharmonic Species* arrive to that force of Aptitude, to discover the Nature and *Genius* of the Poem; for that is the work of the Poet. It is as plain, that the sound of the compound Interval or *System*, is different from the sound of the descant sung in the same *System*, which, however does not belong to the consideration of Harmonical Studies. There is the same to be said concerning *Measures*: For no Measure can claim to its self the force of perfect Aptitude: For we call a thing apt and proper, when we consider the nature of it. The reason of this

we say, is either a certain plain or mix'd Composition, or both; like the *Enharmonic Species of Olympus*, by him set in the *Phrygian Mood*, and mixed with the *Measure* call'd the *Pæon Epibatos*, which render'd the beginning of the Key naturally Elegant, in those Songs that were sung to *Minerva*. For having made choice of his Key and *Measure*, he only chang'd the *Pæon Epibatos* for the *Trocheus*, which produc'd the *Enharmonic Species*; however the *Enharmonic Species* and *Phrygian Tone* remaining, together with the whole System of the *Disdiapason*, greatly alter'd the Elegancy of the Custom. For that which was called Harmony in the Song to *Minerva*, was quite another thing from the common experiment. He then that has both Judgment as well as Skill, is to be accounted the most accurate *Musician*. For he that understands the *Dorian Mood*, not being able withal to discern by his Judgment what is proper to it, and when it is fit to be made use of, shall never know what he does; nay, he shall quite mistake the Nature and Custom of the Key; and indeed it is much questioned among the *Dorians* themselves, whether the *Enharmonic Composers* be competent Judges of the *Dorian Songs* or no? The same is to be said concerning the Knowledge of *Measure*. For he that understands a *Pæon*, may not understand the proper use of it, though he know the *Measure* of which it consists. Because it is much doubted among those, that make use of *Pæonic Measures*, whether the bare Knowledge make a Man capable to determine concerning the proper use of those *Measures*? Or, as others say; whether it aspire to presume so far. Therefore it behoves that person to have two sorts of Knowledge, who will undertake to judge of what is proper and what improper. First, of the Custom and Manner of Elegancy, for which such a Composition was intended, and next of those things, of which the Composition consists. And thus, that neither the bare Knowledge of Harmony, nor Numbers, nor of any other things, that singly by themselves

are but a part of the whole body of Music, are sufficient to judge and determine either of the one or the other, what has been already said may suffice to prove.

Now then, there being three *Species*, into which all Harmonical Composer is divided, equal in the Quantity of Systems or Intervals and force of Notes and Tetrachords, we find that the Ancients never disputed about any more than one; in regard they never troubled themselves with the *Chromatic*, nor *Diatonic*, but only differ'd about the *Enharmonic*; and there neither no farther then about the great Interval, call'd the *Diapason*. The *Chromatic* indeed caused some little variance, but they all agreed that it was one entire sort of Harmony. Therefore he must never think to be a true Artist, in the Understanding and Practise of Music, who advances no farther then the single Knowledge of this or that Particular; but it behoves him to trace through all the particular Members of it, and so to be Master of the whole Body, when he understands how to mix and joyn all the divided Members together. For he is but a slender Musician, who is confin'd to any one certain manner; wherefore, in short, it is requisite that the Sense and Understanding concur in judging the parts of *Musick*; and neither to be too hasty, like the Rash and Inconsiderate; nor too slow, like those who are Dull and Heavy; though it may happen sometimes through the Inequality of Nature, that the same Senses may be too slow and too quick at the same time. Which things are to be avoided by a Sense and Judgment, that would run an equal course. For there are three things at least, that at the same Instance strike the Ear, the Note, the Time, and the Word or Syllable. By the Note we judge of the Harmony, by the Time of the Measure, and by the Word, of the Matter or Subject of the Song. Which as they proceed forth altogether, it is requisite the Sense should give them Entrance at the same moment. For this is certain, where the Sense is not able

to separate every one of these, and consider the Effects of each apart, there it can never apprehend what is well or what is amiss in any. First therefore let us discourse concerning Coherence. For its necessary, that Coherence accompany the discerning Faculty. For Judgment of good or bad is not to be made from Notes disjoyned, broken time and shatter'd words, but from Coherence. Which is a certain Commixture of parts, which in use cannot be said to be compounded. Thus much as to the attaining to understand the *Musick*.

We are next to consider whether the *Masters* of *Musick* are sufficiently capable of being Judges of it? Now I aver the Negative. For it is impossible to be a perfect Musician, and a good Judge of *Musick*, by the knowledge of those things that seem to be but parts of the whole Body, as by the excellency of a Hand upon the Instrument, or singing readily at first sight, or exquisiteness of the Ear, which extends to the understanding of Harmony and Time; neither does the knowledge of Time or Harmony, Pulsation or Elocution, or whatever else falls under the same consideration perfect their Judgment. Now for the Reasons why a Musician cannot gain a perfect Judgment from any of these we must endeavour to make them clear.

First then it must be granted, that of things about which Judgment is to be made, some are perfect, others imperfect.

Those things which are perfect are the Compositions in general, whether Sung or Plaid; and the *expression* of those, whether upon the Instrument, or by the Voice, with the rest of the same Nature.

The imperfect are the things to these appertaining, and for whose sake they are made use of. Such are the parts of Elocution and the Poetry it self. For a Man that hears a Consort of Voices or Instruments, may question whether they Sing or Play in Tune, and whether the
Language

Language be neat or no. But every one of these are only Parts of Instrumental and Vocal *Expression*, not the end it self, but for the sake of the end. For by these, and things of the same Nature, shall the Elegancy of Elocution be judged, whether it be proper to the Poem, which the Performer undertakes to Sing. The same is to be said of the several Passions *expressed* in the Poetry; which care to *express* the Passions the Ancients chiefly studying, they preferred Gravity and Plainness, before difficult Superfluity. Therefore the *Argives* are said to have punished deviation from the ancient *Musick*, and to have imposed a fine upon such as first adventured to play with more then seven Strings, and to introduce the *Myxolydian* Mood. *Pythagoras*, that grave Philosopher, rejecting the judging of *Musick* by the Senses; affirming that the Vertue of *Musick* was then grown to decay. And therefore he did not judge of *Musick* by the Ear, but by harmonical Proportion, and thought it sufficient to fix the Knowledge of *Musick*, within the compass of the *Diapason*. But our *Musicians* now a-days have so utterly exploded the most noble of all the Moods, which the Ancients so admired for its Majesty, that hardly any among them make the least account of Enharmonic Distances. And so negligent and lazy are they grown as to believe the *Enharmonic Diesis* to be so contemptible, as not to fall under the Apprehension of Sense, and therefore *exterminate* it out of their Compositions; deeming those to be Triflers that have any esteem for it, or make use of the Mood it self. For Proof of which, they think they bring a most powerful Argument, which rather appears to be the dulness of their own Senses; as if whatever fled their Apprehensions, were to be rejected as useless and of no value. And then again, they urge that the quantity of the Concord cannot be perceived, like that of the Semitone, Tone, and other Distances, not understanding, that at the same time they throw out the

Third,

Third, Fifth and Seventh ; of which the one consists of three, the other of five, and the last of seven *Diesis*. And thus whatever abounds in the Intervals, by an unequal Number they cast away as insignificant, and not perceptible by the help of another Concord ; which notwithstanding are often measured by the smallest *Diesis*. Whence it would necessarily follow, that no *Diesis* should be of use in a Diatessaron, but that which is to be measured by all equal Intervals ; as in the *Syntonic, Diatonic* and *Toniaean Chromatic*. But these opinions are not only contrary to Appearance, but repugnants one to another. For that they themselves chiefly make use of those Divisions of Tetrachords, in which the overplus of the Intervals are unequal. To which purpose they always sharpen their *C fa ut's* and *F fa ut's* ; and many times they take away an interceptible part of an Interval from some of the standing Sounds, which otherwise always make whole Tones either lesser or greater. They also soften their *G sol re ut* and *G sol fa ut*, and applaud the use of such *Diapasons*, in which many of the Intervals are unequal, not only of the standing but moveable Tones, as is plain to those that rightly understand these things.

Now for the advantages that accrue to Men from the use of *Musick*, the Famous *Homer* has taught it us ; introducing *Achilles* in the height of his Fury toward *Agamemnon*, appeased by the *Musick*, which he learnt from *Chiron*, a Person of great Wisdom. For thus says he,

*They found him pleas'd and all his Rage allay'd,
While on his tuneful Harp he sweetly play'd :
Of Silver wrought by some Dedalian Hand,
Were both the Bows, to which the Strings were strain'd,
This Harp among the spoils the Souldiers found,
When he Ection level'd with the Ground :
And this was his delight, when all alone,
To sing of Heros and their high renown.*

Learn,

Learn, says *Homer*, from hence the true use of *Musick*. For it became *Achilles* the Son of *Peleus* the Just, to Sing the famous Acts and Atchievements of great and valiant Men. He also teaches the Time most proper when to make use of it, by finding out a profitable and pleasing pastime, for the leasure hours of so renowned a Person. For *Achilles* being both Valiant and Active, by reason he had taken a disgust against *Agamemnon*, withdrew from the War. *Homer* therefore thought he could not do better, then by the laudable incitements of *Musick* and *Poetry*, to inflame the *Hero's* Courage for those Atchievements, which he afterwards performed. And this he did, calling to mind the great Actions of former Ages. Such was then the ancient *Musick*, and such the advantages that made it profitable. To which ends and purposes we read that *Hercules*, *Achilles* and many others made use of it; whose Master, wisest *Chiron*, is recorded to have taught not only *Musick*, but *Morality* and *Physic*. In brief therefore no rational Person will blame the Sciences themselves, if any one make use of them amiss, but adjudge such a failing to be the Error of those that abuse them. So that whoever he be, that shall give his mind to the Study of *Musick* in his Youth, if he meet with a musical Education proper for the forming and regulating his Inclinations, he will be sure to applaud and embrace, that which is noble and generous, and to rebuke and blame the contrary, as well in other things, as in what belongs to *Musick*; and by that means become clear from all reproachful Actions; for that now having reapt the noblest Fruit of *Musick*, he may be of great use, not only to himself, but to the Commonwealth; while *Musick* teaches him to abstain from every thing undecent both in word and deed, and to observe *decorum*, Temperance and Regularity. Now that those Cities which were govern'd by the best Laws, took care always of a generous Education in *Musick*, many Testimonies may be produced.

produced. But for us it shall suffice, to have instanced *Terpander*, who appeased a Sedition among the *Lacedæmonians*; and *Thales* the *Cretan*, of whom *Pratinas* writes, that being sent for by the *Lacedæmonians* by advice of the Oracle, he freed the City from a raging Pestilence. *Homer* tells, that the *Grecians* stopt the Fury of another noisom Pestilence, by the Power and Charms of the same Noble Science.

*With sacred Hymns and Songs that sweetly please,
The Grecian Youth all day the Gods appease
Their lofty Pæans bright Apollo bears,
And still the Charming sounds delight his Ears.*

These Verses, most excellent Master, I thought requisite to bring at the conclusion of my musical Discourse, which were by you cited before, to shew the force of Harmony. For indeed the chiefeft and sublimest end of Music, is the graceful return of our thanks to the Gods: and in the next place, to purifie and bring our minds to a sober and harmonious Temper. Thus, said *Soterichus*, most excellent Master, I have given you a Circular Discourse of Music. Nor was *Soterichus* a little admir'd for what he had spoken; as one that both by his Countenance and Speech, had shewn his Zeal and Affection for that noble Science. After all, said *Onesicratus*, I must needs applaud this in both of you, that you have both kept within your own Spheres, and observed your proper Limits. For *Lyfias*, not insisting any farther, undertook only to shew us what was necessary to the making a good hand, as being an excellent performer himself. But *Soterichus* has feasted us with a discovery of the Benefit, the Theorie, the force and right end of Music. And this I believe them to have done freely and willingly. For I cannot think them guilty of so much *Bashfulness*, that they should be asham'd to bring Music into Banquets.

Where

Where certainly, if any where, it cannot be but very useful. Which *Homer* also confirms to be true.

*At Feasts they Dance and Sing, for Songs and Balls
Are the chief Grace of Princely Festivals.*

Not that I would have any one believe from these words, that *Homer* thought *Musick* only useful for pleasure and delight: there being a profounder meaning concealed in the Verse. For he brought in *Musick* to be present at the Banquets and Revels of the Ancients, as believing it then to be of greatest use and advantage, to repel and mitigate the inflaming power of the Wine. To which our *Aristoxenus* agrees, who alledges that *Musick* was introduced at Banquets for this reason, that as Wine intemperately drank weakens both the Body and Mind; So *Musick* by its harmonious Order and Symmetry, asswages and reduces them to their former Constitution. And therefore it was that *Homer* accustomed the Ancients to make use of *Musick* at their solemn Festivals.

But for all this, my most honoured Friends, methinks, you have forgot the chiefest thing of all, and that which renders *Musick* most Majestic. For *Pythagoras*, *Archytas*, *Plato* and many others of the ancient Philosophers were of Opinion, that there could be no Motion of the World, nor Rowling of the Spheres, without the assistance of *Musick*, since the Supream Deity created all things harmoniously. But it would be unseasonable now to enter upon such a Discourse; especially at this time, when it would be absurd for *Musick* to transgress her highest, and most musical Office, which is to give the Laws and Limits of Time and Measure to all things. Therefore after he had sung a chearful Hymn, and offer'd to *Saturn* and the rest of the Gods, his Off-spring, as also to the Muses he dismiss the Company.

*The Modern Scale compared with the Ancient, according to the
Modern and Ancient Names of the Notes.*

	Ela		
	D la sol		
	C sol fa		
	B mi		
	B fa		
	Alamire	<i>Nete hyperboleon</i>	} Tetrachordon Hyperboleon
	G sol re ut	<i>Paranethyperboleon</i>	
	F faut	<i>Trene hyperboleon</i>	
	Elami	<i>Nete</i>	
		<i>Lyconos diazeug.</i>	} Tetrachordon Zeugmenon.
	De la fol re	<i>Paranete diazeug</i>	
	C sol fa ut	<i>Trite dizeugmenon</i>	
	B mi	<i>Paramefe</i>	
} Tetrachordon Synemmenon			
	<i>Nete</i>		
	<i>Paranete synem</i>		
	<i>Trite synemmenon</i>		
	<i>Mese</i>		
<i>Meson diatonos</i>	Alamire		} Tetrachordon Me- son.
or	G sol re ut		
<i>Lychanos Meson</i>	F fa ut		
<i>Parhyp. Mes.</i>	Elami		
<i>Hypate Meson</i>			} Tetrachordona Hy- paton.
<i>Hypate diatonos</i>	D sol re		
or	C fa ut		
<i>Lychanos hypaton</i>	B mi		
<i>Parhyp. Hyp.</i>	Are		
<i>Hypate hypaton</i>	Gamut		
<i>Proslam. lanomenos</i>			

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. I.

Of the Tranquility of the Mind.

*Translated from the Greek, by Mr. Morgan of
St. John's Colledge in Oxford.*

PLUTARCH wisheth all Health to his *Paccius* ; I lately received Letters from you, wherein you make it your request, that I would write something to you concerning the tranquility of the Mind ; and of those things in *Timeus* which require a more perspicuous Interpretation ; at the same time a very urgent occasion call'd upon our common Friend and Companion *Erotes* to sail directly to *Rome* ; that which quickned him to the greater expedition was a Dispatch he received from *Fundanus*, that best of Men, who as his Custom is, always enjoyns the making haste ; therefore wanting full leasure to consummate those things justly which I design'd, and being on the otherside unwilling to send one from me to your dear self empty handed, I have transcribed my *Common place Book*, and hastily put together those Collections, which I had by me concerning this Subject ; for I thought you a Man that did not look after *Flourishes* of Stile and the affected Elegance of Language, but only required what was instructive in its Nature, useful to Us in the Conduct of our Lives : And I congratulate that bravery of temper in you, that though you are admitted into the confidence of Princes, and have obtain'd as great a Vogue of Eloquence at the Bar, that no Man hath exceeded

ceeded you, that you have not like *Merops*, the Tragedian suffer'd your self to be puffed up with the applause of the multitude, and be transported beyond those bounds which are prescribed to our Passions ; but you call to mind that which you have so often heard, that the rich slipper will not cure the Gout, a Diamond-ring the looseness of the Flesh about the Roots of the Nails, nor an Imperial Diadem ease the Head-ach ; for what advantage is there in Honour, Riches, or an Interest at Court, which are expedients to remove all perturbations of Mind, and procure an equal Tenor of Life, if we did not use them with decency, when they were present to our Enjoyment, and not to be afflicted at your loss ? And what is this but the *Province of Reason*, when the sensual part of us grows turbulent, and makes *Excursions* to check it's Sallies, and bring it again within the Limits it hath transgressed ? That it may not be carried away, and so perverted with the gay appearances of things : For as *Xenophon* gives advice we ought to remember the Gods, and pay them particular Devotions, when our Affairs are prosperous that so when an *Exigent* presseth us we may more confidently invoke them, now we have conciliated your Favour, and made them our Friends ; so those Arguments which have any Efficacy against the Troubles of the Mind, wise Men always ruminate upon them before their Calamities happen, that so the Remedies being long prepar'd they may acquire Energy, and work with a more powerful operation : for as angry Dogs are exasperated by every ones rating them, and are only flattered to be quiet by his Voice to which they are accustomed ; so 'tis not easie to pacifie the brutish affections of the Soul, but by familiar Reasons, and which are used to be administred in such inward Distempers : Besides he that affirm'd, that whosoever would enjoy Tranquility of Mind, must disengage himself from all private, and not involve himself in any

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publick,

publick, Concerns, hath expos'd a thing to be purchas'd of great value, but we must buy it of Idleness, as if he should prescribe this to every Man that was ill,

*Do not uneasie on thy sick Bed lie,
Be still and see no other remedy.*

For to be unemploy'd is but a very Recipe to stupifie our Senses, and to have no other Physician but sloth; then soft Conversation and a neglect of our Country could only remove what was grievous to us; it is likewise a false position that those only live contentedly who have the least to do; for then by this rule Women should be of more sedate Dispositions than Men, who only sit at home, and mind their domestic Affairs, who have that delicacy as *Hesiod* expresseth it, that

*The Virgins tender Limbs are kept from cold,
Not the least wind to touch them was so bold.*

But we see the contrary that immoderate grief, little piques amongst themselves, jealousy, which even makes them sick, least they should be supplanted in their Humours, by a Rival; Superstitious Fears, Ambition and all vain Opinions flow as it were with a Torrent into the Apartments of the Females: And *Laertes*, though he lived Twenty Years in the Fields secluded from the World,

*Only a Toothless Hag did make his Bed,
Drew him his Drink and did his Table spread.*

Though he forsook his House and Country, and fled from a Kingdom, yet sloth and sadness still kept him Company: There are some to whom Idleness hath been an Affliction, as for instance,

*Divine Achilles sat upon the shore,
 And in loud Accents did himself deplore ;
 All things about him into Rage did turn,
 With pent up Indignation he did burn ;
 His old Companions he did forsake,
 And arms though 'twas his Providence would not take,
 Desire of fighting did his Soul perplex,
 And Schemes of War his busie thoughts did vex.
 Whilst lazy he perform'd no gallant Act,
 A personated part did only act.*

And he himself complains of it, being mightily disturbed, after this manner :

*An useleſs Burden by the Ships I ſit ;
 For any great Exploits I am not fit.*

Hence 'tis that *Epicurus* adviseth those who aspire to Glory, not to stagnate in their Ambition, but be in perpetual Motion, and so obey the Dictates of their *Genius* in managing the Common-wealth ; because they are more tormented, and suffer greater Damages by Idleness, than if they were disappointed of that they were in the eager pursuit of. But the Philosopher is absurd in this, that he doth not excite Men who have Abilities, to qualifie themselves for Charges in the Government, but only those who are of a restless and unquiet Disposition : For the Tranquility and Perturbation of the Mind are not to be measured by the fewness or multitude of our Actions, but their Beauty or Turpitude : For the omission of what is good is no less troublesom than the commission of evil. As for those who think there is one positive state of life, which is always serene ; some fancying it to be of the Husbandmen ; others of those which are unmarried ; and some of Kings. *Menander* clearly shews them their Error in these Verses.

*I thought those Men (my Phania) always best,
 Who take no Money up at Interest :
 Who, disingag'd from Business, spend the Day,
 And in Complaints don't sigh the Night away ;
 Who troubled, lamentable Groans don't fetch,
 Thus breathing out, Ah ! miserable Wretch !
 Those, whom despairing Thoughts don't waking keep,
 But, without startings, sweetly take their Sleep.*

He goes on and observes to us, that the same lot of Misfortune falls to the Rich as well as the Poor.

*These Neighbours slender Confines to divide,
 Sorrow and human Life were still ally'd :
 It's the luxurious Liver doth infest,
 And robs the Man of Honour of his Rest :
 In stricter Ties doth with the Poor engage,
 With him grows old to a decrepit Age.*

But as timorous and raw Sailors, when they grow sick with the working of the Waves, and motion of the Ship, think they shall overcome their Pukings, if they go into the Long-boat, but there, being equally out of order, come into the Vessel again, and are therefore never the better, because they carry their Nauseousness and Fear along with them : So the several Changes of Life do only shift, and not wholly extirpate the Causes of our Trouble, and these are only our want of Experience, the weakness of our Judgment, and a certain Importance of Mind, which hinder us from making a right use of what we enjoy. The Rich Man is subject to this uneasiness of Humour as well as the Poor ; the Batchelor as well as the Men in Wedlock : This makes the Pleader withdraw from the Bar, and then his Retirement is altogether as irksom : And this infuseth a Desire into others to be bred up at Court, and when they
 come

come there, they presently grow weary of the Life.

*Poor Men when sick, do peevishly complain,
The sense of want doth aggravate their Pain.*

For then the Wife grows officious in her Attendance ; the Physician himself is a Disease, and the Bed is not made easie enough to his Mind ; even his Friend importunes him with his Visits.

*He doth molest him when he first doth come,
And when he goes away, he's troublesome :*

As *Ion* expresth it. But when the heat of the Disease is over, and the Body restored to its first Crasis, then Health returns and brings with it all those pleasant Images which Sicknes chased away ; so that he that yesterday refused Eggs and Whitemear, and the finest Manchets, will now snap at a piece of Household Bread, and an Olive with a few Water Cresses is a delicious Morsel to him, and he feeds upon it with a chearful Hunger : So Reason makes all sorts of Life easie, and every Change pleasant. *Alexander* wept when he heard from *Anaxarchus* that there was an infinite of Worlds, and his Friends asking him if any Accident had befallen him, he returns this Answer ; Do not you think it, faith he, a matter worthy of my Lamentation, that when there is such a vast multitude of them, that I have not yet conquered one ? But *Crates* only with his Scrip and tatter'd Cloak, laugh'd out his Life jocosely, as if he had been always at a Wedding ; the great Power and Command of *Agamemnon* gave him an equal Disturbance.

*Look upon Agamemnon, Atver's Son,
What mighty loads of Trouble he hath on ;
He is distracted with perpetual Care :
Jove that inflicts it, gives him strength to bear.*

Diogenes when he was expos'd to sale in the Market, and being commanded to stand up, he not only refus'd to do it, but ridiculed him that was thus imperious over him with this piece of Railery ; What if thou shouldst sell a Fish whose Stupidity could not obey thee ? *Socrates* was a Philosopher in the Prison, and discoursed with his Friends, though he was fetter'd. But *Phaeton* when he climb'd up into Heaven, thought himself unhappy there, because no Body would give him his Father's Chariot, and the Horses of the Sun.

As therefore the Shoe turns about with the Foot, and doth not deviate from its Motion ; so according as the Affections of the Mind are, they render the Life conformable to themselves : for 'tis not Custom, as one observed, which makes even the best Life pleasant to those who chuse it, but it must be Prudence in Conjunction with it, which not only makes it the best for its kind, but sweetest in its Enjoyment. The Fountain therefore of Tranquility being in our selves, let us cleanse it from all Impurity, and make its Streams limpid, that all external Accidents, by being made familiar, may be no longer grievous to us, but that we may play them when they are tame.

Let not these things thy least Concern engage ;

For though thou frett'st, they will not mind thy Rage.

Him only good and happy we may call,

Who rightly useth what doth him befall.

For *Plato* compared our Life to a Game at Dice, where we ought to throw for what is most commodious for us, but to be content with our Casts, let them be never so unfortunate ; we cannot make what Chances we please turn up, if we play fair ; this lies out of our Power : that which is within it, is to accept patiently what Fortune shall allot us, and so to adjust things in their proper places,

places, that what is our own, may be disposed of to the best advantage; and what hath happened against our Will, may offend us as little as 'tis possible: otherwise the Men who live without measures, and with no Prudence, that like those whose Constitution is so sickly and infirm, that they are equally impatient both of Heats and Colds, Prosperity exalts them above, and Adversity dejects them beneath their Temper; indeed each Fortune disturbs them, or rather they raise up Storms to themselves in either, and, as they manage it, are querulous under good Circumstances. *Theodorus*, who was called the Atheist, for denying the Existence of the Gods, was used to say, that he reached out his Instructions with the right, and his Auditors received them with their left Hands: So Men of no Education, when Fortune would even be complaisant to them, yet they are so awkward in their Observance, that they take her Addresses on the wrong side. On the contrary, Men that are wise, as the Bees draw Honey from the Thyme, which is a most unsavory and dry Herb, so they extract something that is convenient and useful even from the most bitter Afflictions. This therefore let us learn and have inculcated upon us, that just as he, who throwing a Stone at a Dog, struck his Step-mother, and then declared that he was not out of his Cast, for even his mistake hit right: So for those things which Fortune obtrudes upon us, contrary to our Desires, let us alter their Nature, by putting a different Construction upon them.

Diogenes was driven into Banishment, but it was no disadvantage to him; for of an Exile, he became a Philosopher. *Zeno of Citium* when he heard that the only Ship he had left was sunk by an unmerciful Tempest, with all the rich Cargo that was in her, he brake out into this Exclamation; Fortune I applaud thy Contrivance, who by this means hast reduced me to a Thred-bare Cloak, and to walk in the Piazza of the *Stoicks*. What

hinders then but that these Examples should be the Patterns of our Imitation? Thou stoodst Candidate for a Place in the Government, and wast bauk'd in thy hopes: Consider that thou wilt live at ease in thy own Country, following thy own Affairs. Thou wast ambitious to be the Confident of some great Person, and sufferest a Repulse; thou wilt gain this by it, that thou wilt be free from Danger, and disembarass'd from Business. Again, hast thou managed any Affairs full of Intricacy and Trouble? Hot Water doth not so much cherish the soft Members of the Body, as *Pindar* expresseth it, as Honour joyn'd with Power sweetens all our Toils, and makes what was tormenting, divest it self of its Properties, and become agreeable. Hast thou met with any unfortunate Success? Hath Calumny bit, or Envy hiss'd at thee? There is yet a prosperous Gale which sits fair to convey thee to the Ports of the Muses, and land thee at the Academy. This *Plato* did, after he made Shipwreck of the Friendship of *Diogenes*. And indeed it highly conduceth to the Tranquility of the Mind, to look back upon illustrious Men, and see with what Temper they have born their Calamities; as for Instance: Doth this trouble thee that thou wantest Children? Consider that Kings of the *Romans* have died without them, had Kingdoms to leave, but no Heirs. Doth Poverty and a low Condition afflict thee? It is put to thy Opinion, wouldst thou not rather of all the *Bæetians* be *Epimanondas*, and of all the *Romans*, *Fabritius*? But thy Bed is violated, and thy Wife is an Adultress. Didst thou never read this Inscription at *Delfhos*.

*Here am I set by Agis Royal Hand,
Who both the Earth and Ocean did command.*

And yet did the Report never arrive thee, that *Alci-
biades* debauch'd thy Wife *Timæa*? and that she her self
whisper'd

whisper'd archly to her Maids, that the Child was not the genuine Off-spring of her Husband, but a young *Alcibiades*? Yet this did not obstruct the Glory of the Man, for notwithstanding his being a Cuckold, he was the greatest and most famous of all the *Greeks*. Nor did the dissolute Manners of his Daughter hinder *Stilpo* from envying his Humour, and being the jolliest Philosopher of his time; when *Metrocles* upbraided him with it, he asked him whether he was the Offender, or his mad Girl? it was answered him, that it was her Sin, but his Unhappiness. To which he replied; but are not Sins *Lapses*? No doubt on't saith *Metrocles*; and is not that properly called *A Lapse*, when we fall off from the Attainment of those things we were in the pursuit of? he could not deny it. He pursued him further with this Question, And are not these unlucky Traverses, misfortunes to them who are thus disappointed? Thus by a pleasant and Philosophical Reasoning, he turned the Discourse, and shewed the Cynick that his Calumny was idle, and he barked in vain. But there are some, whom not only the evil Dispositions of their Friends and Domesticks, but those of their Enemies, give disturbance to: For a Prone-ness to speak evil of another, Anger, Envy, ill Nature, a jealous and perverse Temper, are the Pests of those who are infected with them. And these serve only to trouble and exasperate Fools, like the Brawls of scolding Neighbours, the Peevishness of our Acquaintance, and the Iniquity or Want of Qualifications in those who administer the Government. But thou seemest to me not to be at all concerned with Affairs of this Nature; therefore, like the Physicians mentioned by *Sophocles*, who,

*With Medicines, bilious Humours do allay,
Sharp, as the bitter Juice they purge away.*

To let other Mens Enormities sowre thy Blood, is highly irrational: For even in matters of private management, thou

thou dost not always employ Men of Wit and Address, which are the most proper for such an Execution, but sometimes those of rough and crooked Dispositions; and to animadvert upon them for every Pickadillo, thou must not think it belongs to thee, nor is it easie in the performance. But if thou makest that use of them, as Chyrurgeons do of Instruments to pull out Teeth, or Ligatures to bind Wounds, and so appear chearful whatever falls out, the Satisfaction of thy Mind will more delight, than the Concern at other Mens Pravity and malicious Humours will disturb thee. Otherwise, as Dogs bark at all Persons indifferently; if thou persecutest every body that offends thee, thou wilt bring the matter to this pass by thy Imprudence, that all things will flow down into this Imbecility of thy Mind, as a Place void and capable to receive them, that at last thou wilt be filled with nothing but other Mens Miscarriages. For if some of the Philosophers inveigh against Compassion, which others Calamities affect us with, as a soft Affection (for we ought to give real Assistance to those in Distress, and not to be dejected or sympathize with them) and if, which is a thing of higher Moment, they discard all sadness, and being uneasie when the sense of a Vice or a Disease is upon us, but that we ought to cure both Indispositions, without being griev'd; is it not highly consonant to Reason, that we should not storm nor fret, if those we have to do with are not so wise and honest as they should be? Let us consider the thing truly (my *Pacius*) lest whilst we find fault with others, we prove partial in our own respects through inadvertency; and our censuring their Failings does not so much proceed from an hatred of their Vices, as a love of our selves. We should not have our Passions moved at every provocation, nor let our Desires grow exorbitant beyond what is just; for these little Aversions of our Temper engender Suspicions, and infuse Moroseness into us,
which

which makes us surly to those who either precluded the way to our Ambition, or made us fall into those disastrous Events we would willingly have shunn'd. But he that hath a smoothness in his Nature, and a Talent of Moderation, can only transact, and converse with Mankind easily, and with mildness. Let us recapitulate therefore what we have said. To those who are in a Fever, every thing that they taste, is not only unsavory, but bitter; but when we see others relish it without any disgust, we do not then lay the blame either upon the Meat or Drink, but conclude that the Disease or sick Man are only in fault. In like manner we shall leave off to bear Things impatiently, if we see others enjoy them with alacrity and humour. And this likewise is a great Promoter of the Tranquility of the Mind, if amongst those ill Successes which carry a dismal Appearance, we look upon others which have a more beautiful Aspect, and so blending them together, we may overcome the Bad by the Mixture of the Good. But we, who when our Eyes are dazzled with too intense a Splendor, recover the Amusement by viewing something that is green and florid, yet we fix the Optics of our Minds upon doleful Objects, and dwell upon the recital of our Miseries, and will scarcely be divorced from the sorrowful Argument, to espouse something that is more diverting. And here we may insert that which was said to a pragmatistical Fellow, handsomly enough:

Why so quick sighted, others Faults to find,

But to thy own so partially art blind?

'Tis Malice that exasperates thy Mind.

But why (my Friend) art thou so acute to discern even thy own Misfortunes? Art so industrious to renew them, and set them in thy sight, that they may be the more conspicuous? But never turnest thy Consideration to those good Things which are present with thee, and thou dost enjoy? But as Cupping-Glasses draw the impurest

purest Blood out of the Body, so thou dost extract the Quintessence of Infelicity to afflict thy self. In this thou art no better then *Chius*, who when he had sold abundance of his best and most generous Wine to others, he called for some that was prick'd and vappid to taste at Supper; and one of the Servants asking another, What he left his Master a doing; he made this Answer, That he was calling for bad when the good was by him. For many leaving the pleasant and delectable Things behind them, run with haste to embrace those which are not only difficult, but intolerable; *Aristippus* was not of this Number, for he knew, even to the niceness of a Grain, to put prosperous against adverse Fortune into the Scale, that the one might outveigh the other: Therefore when he lost a noble Farm, he asked one of his dissembled Friends, who pretended to be sorry, not only with regret but impatience, for his Mishap, Whether he himself was not owner of a good Piece of Land, and that he had three yet remaining? He assenting to the Truth of it: Why then, saith he, should I not rather lament your Misfortune, since it is the raving only of a mad Man, to be concerned at what is lost, and not rather rejoyce in what is left? Thus, as Children, if you rob them of one of their Play-games, they will throw away the rest: So if Fortune only infest us in one Part, we grow fearful, and abandon our selves wholly to its Attacks.

But some Body will object to me, What is it that we have? Rather, what is it that we have not? One is Honourable, the other is Master of a Family; this Man hath a good Wife, the other a faithful Friend. *Antipater* of *Tharsus*, when he was upon his Death-Bed, and he reckoning up all the good Events which had beset him, he would not omit a prosperous Voyage which he had, when he sailed from *Cilicia* to *Athens*. Even the trite and common Blessings are not to be despised, but ought to take up a room in our Deliberations. We should rejoyce

joyce that we live, and are in Health, and see the Sun ; that there are no Wars nor Seditions in our Country ; that the Earth yeilds to Cultivation, and that the Sea is open to our Traffick ; that we can talk, be silent, do business, and be at leasure, when we please. They will afford us greater Tranquility of Mind present, if we form some just *Ideas* of them when they are absent. If we often call to our remembrance, how solicitous the sick Man is after Health, how acceptable Peace is to put out a War, and what a Courtesie it will do us, to gain Credit, and acquire Friends in a City of Note, where we are Strangers and unknown ; and we are much troubled, if we are deprived of any part of this Happiness. By this means we shall not then reckon a Thing only to be great, when we are forsaken of it, and use it with contempt, when it is in our Possession ; for the Value of a Thing doth not properly consist in its Loss. But as we ought not to acquire Things, so as to be still in pannic apprehensions to be deprived of them ; so neither by an habit of being their Owners, should we despise them, as if they were of no estimation : But we are so to use, that we may reap Satisfaction, and a solid Pleasure may result from them, that so we may be the better enabled to endure their Loss with a greater Evenness of Temper. But some, as *Arcefilaus* observed, think they must be Critics upon other Mens Poems, survey their Pictures with a curious Eye, and examin their Statues with all the delicacy of Sculpture ; but in the mean while transiently pass over their own Lives, tho there be some things in them, which will not only detain but please their Consideration. But they will not restrain the Prospect to themselves, but are perpetually looking, abroad, and so become servile Admirers of other Mens Fortunes and Reputation ; as Adulterers are always gloating upon other Mens Wives, and contemning their own. Besides, this is a thing highly conducing to the Tranquility of the Mind, for a Man chiefly to consider him-

himself, and his own Affairs. But if this always cannot take place, he should not make Comparisons with Men of a superior Condition to himself; though this is the Epidemical Frenzy of the Vulgar. As for Instance; Those who lie in Fetters, applaud their good Fortune whose Shackles are off; those who are loosed from their Bonds, would be free Men by Manumission; these again aspire to be Citizens; the Citizen would be rich; the Wealthy Man would be a Lieutenant of a Province; the haughty Governour would be a King, and the Emperor a God, being ambitious of Thunder and Lightning.

*I would not Gyges be, who had the Spell,
By Art to make himself invisible;
For in his Ring the bright Reflections shone,
All others he did view, was seen of none.
No Emulation doth my Spirits fire,
The Actions of the Gods I don't admire.
I would not to be great a Tyrant be;
The least Appearances I would not see.*

But one of *Thasis*, another of *Chius*, one of *Galata*, and a fourth of *Bythinia*, not contenting themselves with the Rank they enjoyed amongst their Fellow-Citizens, where they had Honour and Commands, complain that they have not Foreign Characters, and are not made Patricians of *Rome*; and if they attain that Dignity, that they are not Prætors; and if they arrive even to that degree, they still think themselves ill dealt with, that they are not Consuls; and when promoted to the *Fasces*, that they were declared the second, and not the first. And what is all this, but ungratefully to accuse Fortune, and industriously picking out occasions to quarrel her, and torment our selves? But he that is in his right Senses, and wise for his own Advantage, out of those many Millions which the Sun looks upon,

Who

Who of the Products of the Earth do eat,

if he sees any one in the mighty Throng, which is more rich and honourable than himself, he is neither dejected in his Mind nor Countenance, nor doth he pensively sit down deploring his unhappiness, but he walks abroad publicly with an honest Assurance: He Celebrates his good Genius, and boasts of his good Fortune in that it is happier than a Thousand other Mens which are in the World. In the Olympic Games you have not so much the Ascendant over Victory, as to chuse what Antagonist you will. But in human Life, if Affairs run so luckily for thee, that thou far surpassest others in Prosperity, be generous, and of a great Spirit, and instead of admiring, be thou envied thy self unless thou dost match thy self unequally with a *Briareus*, or an *Hercules*. Therefore when thou art surprized into a false Admiration of him who is carried in his Sedan, cast thy Eyes downwards upon the Slaves who support his Luxury. When thou art wondering at the Greatness of *Xerxes*, crossing the *Hellepont*, consider those Wretches who are digging through Mount *Athos*, who are urged to their Labour with Blows, Blood being mixed with their Sweat; call to mind, that they had their Ears and Noses cut off, because the Bridge was broken by the violence of the Waves; think upon that secret Reflections they have, and how happy they esteem thy Life and Affairs. *Socrates* hearing one of his Friends crying out in a Rapture as it were, What a glorious City is this! The Wine of *Chios* is sold for a Pound, the Purple Fish for three, and a Pint of Honey for five Drachms. He brought him to the Meal Shop, and shewed him that a large quantity of the finest Flower was sold for an Half-penny; 'tis a great Frugality. Then he brought him to the Oil-man's, and told him, he might have a

* *Chanix*

* This was a certain Measure out of which was delivered the City Allowance for Servants.

* *Chænix* full of Olives for two Farthings.

At last he went to the Sales-man's and convinced him, that the Purchase of a sleeveless Jerkin was only ten Drachms : So that from thence he might infer, that all things were vilely cheap in that City.

So when we hear others declare, that our Condition is afflicted, because we are not Counsuls, and in eminent Command ; let us then look upon our selves to live, not only in a bare Happiness, but Splendor, in that we do not beg our Bread, are not forced to subsist by carrying of Burthens, or what is altogether as servile, Flattery. But such is our Folly, that we accustom our selves rather to live for other Mens sakes than our own ; and our Dispositions are so prone to Upbraidings, and be tainted with Envy, that the Grief we conceive at others Prosperity, lessens the Joy we ought to take in our own. But to cure thee of this extravagant Emulation, look not upon the Outside of these applauded Men, which is so gay and brilant, but draw the gawdy Curtain, and carry thy Eyes inward, and thou shalt find most gnawing Disquiets to be dissembled under these false Appearances. The renowned *Pittacus*, who got him so great a Name for his Fortitude, Wisdom and Justice, when he was entertaining his Friends at a noble Banquet, his Spouse in an angry Humour came and over-turned the Table ; his Guest being extreamly disordered at it, he told them, Every one of you hath his particular Plague, and my Wife is mine, and he is very happy who hath this only.

*The pleading Lawyer's happy at the Bar ;
But the Scene opening, shews a Civil War :
For the good Man hath a Domestick Strife,
He's Slave to that imperious Creature, Wife,
Scolding without doors doth to him belong ;
But she within them doth claim all the Tongue.*

*Peck'd by his Female Tyrant, him I see,
Whilst from this Grievance I myself am free.*

These are the secret Stings which are inseparable from Honour, Riches and Dominion, and which are unknown to the Vulgar, because a counterfeit Lustre dazzleth their Sight.

*All pleasant Things Artides doth adorn ;
The merry Genius smil'd when he was born.*

And they compute this Happiness from his great Stores of Ammunition, his Variety of managed Horses, and his Battalions of disciplined Men. But an inward Voice of Sorrow seems to silence all this Ostentation with mournful Accents ;

Jove in a deep Affliction him did plunge.

Observe this likewise :

*Old Man, I reverence thy aged Head,
Who to a mighty Length hast spun thy Thread ;
Safe from all Dangers, to the Grave go'st down
Ingloriously, because thou art unknown.*

Such Expostulations as these with thy self, will serve to discuss this querelous Humour, which makes thee fondly applaud other Peoples Conditions, and depreciate thy own.

This likewise greatly obstructs the Tranquility of the Mind, that our Desires are immoderate, and not suited to our Abilities of Attainment, which like Sails beyond the proportion of the Vessel, help only to over-set it ; so that being blown up with extravagant Expectations, if ill Success frustrates our Attempts, we presently curse

our Stars, and accuse Fortune, when we ought rather to lay the blame upon our enterprizing Folly. For we do not reckon him unfortunate, who will shoot with a Plowshare, and let slip an Ox at a Hare; nor is he born under an lucky Influence, who can't catch a Buck with a Sling or Drag-Net; for it was the weakness and perverseness of his Mind, which inflam'd him on to impossible Things. The partial Love of himself is chiefly in fault, which infuseth a vicious Inclination to arrogate, and an insatiable Ambition to attempt every Thing: For they are not content with the Affluence of Riches, and the Accomplishments of the Mind, that they are Robust, have a Complaisance of Humour, and Strength of Brain for Company; that they are Privadoes to Princes and Governors of Cities, unless they have Dogs of great Sagacity and Swiftnes, Horses of a generous Strain; nay, unless your Quails and Cocks are better than other Mens. Old *Dyonisius* not being satisfied that he was the greatest Tyrant of his Time, grew angry even to a Frenzy, that *Philoxenus* the Poet exceeded him in the sweetness of his Voice, and *Plato* in the Subtilties of Disputation; therefore he condemn'd one to the Quarries, and sold the other into *Aegina*. But *Alexander* was of another Temper, for when *Criso* contended with him for Swiftnes, who was the Master of those Exercises, he run booty against himself, that he might give him the Victory, for which he was in a great Rage. And *Achilles* in *Homer* spake very well, when he said thus;

None of the Greeks for Courage me excel;

Let others have the Praise of speaking well.

Magabyzus the *Persian* when he came into the Shop of *Apelles*, and began to ask some impertinent Questions concerning his Art, the famous Painter check'd him into silence with this Reprimand; *As long as thou held'st thy*
Peace,

Peace, thou didst appear to be a Man of Condition, and I paid a deference to the Eclat of thy Purple, and the Lustre of thy Gold; but now since thou art frivolous, thou growest cheap in the Opinion, and exposest thy self to the Laughter even of my Boys that mix the Colours. Some think the Stoics very childish, when they hear them affirm, that the wise Man must not only deserve that Appellation for his Prudence, be of exact Justice, and great Fortitude, but he must likewise have all the Flowers of a Rhetorician, and the Conduct of a General, must have the Elegancies of a Poet, be very wealthy, and called a King; and if you do not complement them with all these Titles they so proudly assume, the good Men grow peevish, and are presently out of Temper. But the Qualifications of the Gods themselves are different; for the one is stil'd the Deity of War, another of the Oracle, and a third of Traffick; and *Jupiter* makes *Venus*, the Delicacy of her Sex, being unapt for Martial Affairs, to preside over Marriages, and be Goddess of the Nuptial Bed, as the more soft and tender Province. And there are some things which carry a contrariety in their Nature, and cannot be consistent: As for Instance; The Study of the Mathematics, and to form ones self to be a compleat Orator, are Exercises which require a great Leisure, and wholly to be disengaged from all other Concerns; but the Intrigues of Policy can't be managed, and the Favour of Princes cannot be attained or cultivated, without severe Application, and being involved in Affairs of high moment: Then the Indulging our selves to drink Wine, and eat Flesh, makes the Body strong, but effeminates the Mind. Industry to acquire, and care to preserve our Wealth, doth infinitely increase it; but the Contempt of Riches is the best Refreshment in our Philosophic Journey. Hence 'tis very manifest, that there is a wide difference in Things, and that we ought to obey the Inscription of this *Pythian* Oracle, that every Man should know him-

M 2 self;

self; that he should not constrain his *Genius* but leave it to its own Propensions; and so by applying himself to that to which he is most adapted, he may follow and gratifie his own Inclinations.

*With generous Provender they the Horse do feed,
That he may win the Race with Strength and Speed.
The mighty Ox is fitted to the Yoke,
And by his Toil the fertile Clods are broke.
The Dolphin, when a Ship he doth espy,
Straight the good natur'd Fish his Fins doth ply:
By the Ships motion he his own doth Guide,
And lovingly swims constant to her side.
And if you'd apprehend the foaming Boar,
The monster by a Mastiff must be tore.*

But he who takes it amiss that he is not a Lion, is stupid in his Wishes.

*Who with a proud insulting Air doth tread;
Rough as the Mountains were he first was bred.*

Or that he is not a *Malta-Shock*, delicately brought up in the Lap of a fond Widow. He is not a jot more rational, who would be an *Empidocles*, a *Plato*, or a *Democritus*, who writ of the World. Who would sleep by the dry side of an old Woman, because she is rich, as *Euphorion* did; or be admitted to debauch with *Alexander*, amongst his Club of Drunkards, as *Medius* was; being much concerned, that he is not in as high a vogue of Admiration, as *Ismenias* was for his Riches, and *Epimandras* for his Vertue. For the Footmen who run Races, think they have no Injury done them, if they are not crowned with those Garlands which are due to the Wrestlers; but rather are transported with Joy, that those are decreed them which are proper to their Triumphs.

umphs. Thou hast a Province of thy own, adorn this, and mind nothing else. *Solon* hath expressed himself to this purpose :

Vertue for sordid Wealth shall not be sold ;

Its Beauty far outshines the Miser's Gold :

This without Fortune's Shocks doth still endure :

But that's Possession is insecure.

And *Strato*, who wrote of Physics, when he heard that *Menedemus* had a great Number of Scholars, *What wonder is it*, saith he, *if more come to wash than to be anointed* ? Intimating thereby, that Learning doth not consist in number of Men, but Choice of Qualifications. And *Aristotle*, writing to *Antipater*, declares, That *Alexander* alone ought not to think highly of himself, because his Dominion extended over many Subjects, since they enjoyed the same Priviledge, who entertain becoming Sentiments of the Gods. So that having a just Opinion of our own Excellencies, we are disturbed with the less Envy against those of other Men. Now we, who in other Cases do not expect Figs from the Vine, nor Grapes from the Olive-Tree ; yet if we have not the complicated Titles of being Rich and Learned, Philosophers in the Schools, and Commanders in the Field ; if we cannot flatter, and have the factious Liberty to speak what we please ; nay, if we are not counted parsimonious and splendid in our Expences at the same time, we grow uneasie to our selves, and despise our Life, as maim'd and imperfect. Besides, Nature seems to instruct us her self ; for as she ministers different sorts of Food to her Animals, and hath endowed them with diversity of Appetites, some to eat Flesh and Seed, and others to dig up Roots for their Nourishment : So she hath bestowed upon her rational Creatures, various sorts of Accommodations to sustain their Being. The shep-

herd hath one distinct from the Plowman; the Fowler hath another peculiar to himself; and the fourth lives by the Sea. So that in common Equity, we ought to labour in that Vocation which is appointed and most commodious for us, and let alone the rest; and so not justify the Truth of what *Hesiod* said, when he spake after this manner:

*The Potter hates another of the Trade,
If by his hands a finer Dish is made;
The Smith his Brother Smug with Scorn doth treat,
If he his Iron strikes with brisker Heat.*

And this Emulation is not confin'd only to *Mechanics*, and those who follow the same Occupations; but the rich Man repines at him that is gently bred: He that hath a bright Reputation envies the Misers Guinies; and the Pettifogger thinks he is out-done in talking by the Sophister: Nay, by Heaven, he that is born free, foolishly admires the Servile Attendance of him who is of the Household to a King; and the Man that hath Patri-
cian Blood in his Veins, calls the *Comedian* happy, who acts his part gracefully and with humour; and applauds even the *Mimick* who pleaseth with *Farse* and *Scaramouchy-Gestures*; thus by a false Estimate of Happiness, they disturb and perplex themselves. Now that every Man hath a Store-house of Trouble and Contentment in his own Bosom, and that the Vessels which contain Good and Evil are not placed at *Jupiter's* Threshold, but in the Recesses of the Mind, the Variety of our Passions are an abundant Demonstration. The Fool doth not discern, and consequently cannot mind the Good that is obvious to him; for his Thoughts are still intent upon the future; but the Prudent Man retrieves things that were lost out of their Oblivion, by strength of Recollection renders them perspicuous, and enjoys them as
if

if they were present; Happiness having only a few coy Minutes to be courted in, the Man that hath no Intellectuals, neglects this Opportunity, and so it slides away from his Sense, and no more belongs to him. But like him that is painted in Hell twisting a Rope, and who lets the As that is by him devour all the laborious Textures as fast as he makes them: So some Men have such a Lethargy of Forgetfulness upon them, that they lose the Remembrance of all great Actions, and no more call to mind their pleasant Intervals of Leisure and Repose; The Relish of their former Banquets is grown insipid, and Delight hath left no piquent Impression upon their Palates, by this means they solve as it were the Continuity of Life, and destroy the Union of present Things to the past: But dividing yesterday from to day, and to day from to morrow, they utterly efface all Events, as if they had never been: For as those who are dogmatical in the Schools, and deny the Augmentation of Bodies by reason of their perpetual flux through the Effluvioms of our Sweat, do strip us out of our selves, and as it were change us into other Substances: So those who bury all things that have preceded them in Oblivion, lose all the Notices of former Times, and let them all be shatter'd carelessly out of their Minds, do every day evacuate themselves, and become Creatures of very precarious dependance; as if those things which happened long ago, nay last Year and Yesterday, were not to affect their Cognizance, and be Circumstances worthy their Observation. This is a great Impediment to the Tranquility of the Mind: but that which is its more sensible Disturbance is this, that as Flies upon a Looking-Glass easily slide down the smooth and polished Parts of it, but stick to those which are rugged and uneven, and fall into its Flaws: So Men let what is chearful and pleasant flow from them, and only dwell upon sad melancholly Remembrances: Nay, as those

* This was a City of *Thrace* under the Government of *Athens*, in the time of *Philip* of *Macedon*.

of * *Olynthus*, carry Beetles into a certain place, which from the Destruction of them is called their Slaughter-house; and all Passages being stopped up against their Escape, are killed by the weariness of perpetual flying about; so when they have once fallen upon the Memory of their former Sorrows, no Consolation can take them off from the mournful Theme: But as in a Landskip we draw the most beautiful Colours; so we ought to fill the prospect of our Minds with the most agreeable and sprightly Images, that if we cannot utterly abolish, yet at least we may obscure those which are dark and unpleasant by more gay and lively Representations: For as the Strings of a Lute or Bow, so the Harmony of the World is intended and remitted by Vicissitude and Change; and in human Affairs, there is nothing that is sincere, nothing that is unallied; but as in Music there are some Sounds which are flat and sharp; and in Grammar some Letters that are vocal, and some mute; but neither the Man of Concord, nor Syntax doth industriously decline one sort, but with the fineness of his Art mixeth them together: So in things in this World which carry a direct Opposition in their Nature one to another, and when as *Euripides* expresseth it,

*The good things with the evil still are joynd,
And in just Union mutually combin'd:
The chequer'd Work doth beautiful appear;
For what is sweet allays the more severe.*

Yet we ought not to be discouraged, or have any Dependancies: But in this case let us imitate the Musicians, who drown the harsh Cadencies with others that more caress the Ear; so by tempering our adverse Fortune with what is more prosperous, let us render our Lives pleasant,

pleasant, and of an equal Tone. For that is not true which Menander tells us.

Soon as an Infant doth salute the Day,
A Genius his first Cryings doth obey,
And to his Charge comes hastily away ;
The Demon doth assist the tender Lad,
Shews him what's good, and saves him from the Bad,

But the Opinion of Empedocles deserves more our approbation, who saith, That as soon as any one is born, he is carefully taken up and governed by two Guardian Spirits ;

But Chthouja the first Spirit doth arise,
Then Heliopla with her killing Eyes :
Harmonies looks cannot be understood ;
Deris the warlike Girl delights in Blood.

Thoosa.

And Deinæe in the number too are put ;
Then there's Calisto, who's a naucious Slut ;
Nemertes humour's brisk and deboniar ;
But Asapheia dismal Frunt doth bear.

By this diversity of Characters is only expressed the variety of our Passions, and these are the Seeds of Discontent we brought into the World with us, and which disorders our Conduct, making our Lives unequal. He that is Master of himself, wisheth for the better, and expects other things, but he useth them both with a Moderation suitable to that Injunction, Do not any thing too much. For not only as Epicurus said ; he that is the least impatient after to morrow, enjoys it most when it comes : But Honour, Riches and Power give those the greatest Complacency who are not tormented with any

Appre-

Apprehensions that the contrary will befall them. For an immoderate craving after things of this Nature infuseth a Fear of losing them, equal to the first intemperate Desire. This deadens the Fruition, and makes the Pleasure as weak and instable as Flame driven by the Wind. But he to whom his Reason hath given the Assurance that he can boldly say to Fortune,

*If thou dost any thing confer that's sweet,
In me a grateful Relish it shall meet.
But if thy Bounties thou dost take away,
The least repining Words I will not say.*

This is the Man who can confidently enjoy what is present with him, and is not afflicted with that cowardize of thoughts, as to be in constant Alarms lest he should lose his Possessions, which would be an intolerable Grievance. But let us not only admire, but imitate that temper of Mind in *Anaxagoras*, which made him express himself in these Words, upon the Death of his Son, *I did not beget him to be immortal*; and apply it to all the Casualties of our Life, after this manner: I knew my Riches had only the duration of a Day; I knew that the same Hand who bestowed Authority upon me, could spoil me of those Ornaments, and take it away again; I knew my Wife to be the best of Women, yet she had the Frailties of her Sex about her; my Friend to be Faithful, yet the cement might be broken, for he was a Man, which, as *Plato* saith, is a very inconstant Creature. These previous Expostulations, and being thus prepared, if any thing fall out which we are unwilling should, and yet there is a possibility that it may, they will cure the palpitation of our Hearts, make our Disturbances settle and go down, and bring our Minds to a Consistence; not indulging our selves with these lazy Exclamations, *Who would have thought it?* I looked for better,

better, and did not expect this. *Carnsades* gives us a short Memoire concerning great Things, that the Cause from whence all our Troubles proceeds, is, that it befalls unexpectedly. The Kingdom of *Macedon* compared with the *Roman* Empire, sunk in the Competition, for it was only an inconsiderable Part of it; yet when *Perseus* lost it, he not only deplored his own Misfortune, but he was thought by all the most Abject and Miserable of Mankind; yet *Æmelius* that conquered him, when he delivered up the Command of Sea and Land into the Hands of a Successor, though he was crowned, and did Sacrifice, yet he was by no means esteemed happy, for he knew his Honour was but temporary, and that he must lay down the Authority he had taken up. But *Perseus* was stripped of his Dominions by Surprise. The Poet hath pretily illustrated what 'tis for a thing to fall out unexpectedly. For *Ulysses* when his Dog died, though he could not forbear crying himself, yet he would not suffer his Wife which sate by him to take on, but stopp'd her Tears; for that she came strengthened with her Reason, and before-hand acquainted with the Accident, but it was the suddenness of the Disaster which raised his Sorrow, and threw him into Complaints. Generally speaking those things which happen to us against our Wils, afflicts us partly by a pungency that is in their Nature, and partly Custom and Opinion so effeminate us that we are impatient under them. But against all Contingencies, we should have that of *Menander* in readiness;

Afflictions to thy self thou dost create,

Thy Fancy only is unfortunate;

Of these Calamities thy Nature's such,

Thy Body or thy Mind they cannot touch.

Of this sort is the low Extraction of thy Father, the Adultery of thy Wife, the loss of a Garland, or being deprived

prived of the upper Seat in an Assembly. And without these thou mayst have indolence of Mind, and strength of Body : But to those things which in your own Nature excite our Resentments, such as are Sickness, Pains of the Body, and the Death of our Friends and Children, we ought to apply that of *Euripides* :

Alas ! Why doth the Wretch himself bemoan ?

I can't endure to hear my Dearest groan.

Thy self alone in Trouble, dost not find,

Thou only shar'st a Part with all Mankind ?

There is no Reason more effectual to keep up our Passions, and hinder our Minds from falling into Despair, than that which sets before us a Physical Necessity, and the common Lot of Nature ; and 'tis our Bodies only that lie exposed to this Destiny, and where Fortune makes her approaches ; but the Fort Royal is still secure, where our Strength lies, and our most precious things are treasured up. When *Demetrius* took *Megara*, he asked *Sestpo* whether he had not suffered particular Damage in the Plunder ? to whom he made this Answer, That he saw no Body that could rob him. So Fate when it hath made all the Depredations upon us, possibly can, and left us naked, yet there is something still within us which is out of the reach of the Pirat ;

—— *Which conquering Greece did neither take nor bring.*

There we ought not so to villifie and depress our Nature, as if he could not get the Ascendent over Fortune, and had nothing of firmness and stability in it : But we ought rather to consider that if any Part of us is obnoxious to it, 'tis only that which is the smallest, and the most impure, and sickly too ; whilst the better and more generous denies it enterance ; and this we have the

abso-

absolute Dominion of, and our chiefest Goods are placed in it: Such as are, true Discipline, a right Notion of Things and Reasoning, which in their last Results bring us unto Vertue; which are so far from being abolished, that they cannot be corrupted. We ought likewise with an invincible Spirit, and a bold insight into Futurity, answer Fortune in those Words which *Socrates* retorted upon his Judges: *Anytus and Militus may kill, but they cannot hurt me*: So she can afflict me with a Disease, can spoil me of my Riches, disgrace me with my Prince, and bring me under a popular Odium; but she can't make a good Man wicked, the Magnanimous a Coward, and of a poor and degenerate Courage, she cannot cast Envy upon a generous Temper, nor destroy any of those Habits of the Mind which are more useful to us in the Conduct of our Lives, being within the Command of our Wills, then the Skill of a Pilot in a Storm; for he can't mitigate the Billows, nor calm the Winds; cannot sail into the Haven as often as he has occasion, nor by blustering on the Fore-Castle, conjure the Tempest to be quiet; but after having used all the Efforts of the Compass, he at last commits himself to its Fury, pulls down all his Sails by the Board, whilst the lower Deck is within an Inch of the *Abyss*, trembling as it were at the approaching Ruin. But the Affections of the Mind in a wise Man procure Tranquility even to the Body; for he prevents the Symptoms of a Distemper by Temperance, a spair Diet, and moderate Exercise; but if an Evil begin more visibly to shew it self, as we sometimes steer our Ship by Rocks, which lie in the Water, we must then furl in our Sails and pass by them, as *Asclepiades* expresseth it; but if the Waves grow turbulent, and the Sea is rougher than was expected, the Port is at hand, and he may leave this Body, as it would a leaky Vessel; for it's not so much the Desire of Life, as the Fear of Death, which makes the Fool have such a Dependence

pendance upon the Body, and stick so fast to its Embraces: as *Ulysses* held fast by the Fig-tree, dreading *Charibdes* that lay under him.

*Where the Wind would not suffer him to stay,
Nor would it serve to carry him away.*

So that of this side was but a slender Support, and there was inevitable danger of the other; but he who considers the Nature of the Soul, and that Death will transport it either to a far better Condition, or not much worse than what he now enjoys, as he travelleth on in this Pilgrimage of his Life, he hath Tranquility of Mind, as a *Viaticum*, being freed from the Apprehensions of its Terrors: For he that is vertuous, can only live delightfully; for his better part prevailing over his Sensualities, he can overcome whatever is adverse to his Nature, speaking this with Courage.

Fate shall release me when I please my self.

What in the whole Scope of the Creation can be thought of, that can raise a Tumult in such a Man, or give him the least Molestation? Certainly, he that threw out that brave Defiance to Fortune, in these Words, *Turn thy Face about, and shut up all the Passages which lead to Happiness*; did not speak it, confiding in the Strength of Walls or Cubes, or the Security of Keys; but it was an Effect of his Learning, and the Challenge was a Dictate of his Reason. And these Heights of Resolution any Men may attain to if they are willing; and we ought not to despair, but that we may arrive to the Courage of saying the same Things. Therefore we should not only admire, but be kindled with Emulation, and think our selves touched with the Impulse of a Divine Instinct, which picques us on to the Tryall of our selves
in

in Matters of less Importance, that thereby we may find how our 'Tempers beat to be qualified for greater, and so not incuriously decline that Inspection we ought to have over our selves. And methinks it is a Matter of no great difficulty : For the luxurious Thinker, who withdraws himself from severe Reflections, and is conversant about no Objects but what are easie and delectable, emasculates his Understanding, and contracts a softness of Spirit ; but he that makes Grief, Sicknes and Banishment, the Subjects of his Meditation, composeth his Mind sedately, and poiseth himself with Reason to sustain the Burthen : He will find that those things are vain, empty and false, which appear so grievous and terrible to the Vulgar, which his own Reasonings will make out to him in every particular. But many are shocked at this Saying of *Menander*.

No Man can tell what will himself befall.

In the mean while, being monstrously ignorant what a noble Expedient this is to disperse our Sorrows, to contemplate upon, and to be able to look Fortune steadily in the Face ; not to cherish delicate, and consequently vicious Apprehensions of Things ; and, like those bred up in the Shades, imbibe false and extravagant Hopes, which have not strength to resist the first Adversity. But to the saying of *Menander*, we may make this just and serious Reply : As to my Morals, I know what I will not suffer to befall me ; I will scorn to lye ; I will not be treacherous, or do a Thing ungenerously ; I will not defraud or circumvent any one. And to do this lies within the Sphere of our Performance, which extremely conduceth to the Tranquility of the Mind. Whereas, on the contrary, the being conscious of having done a wicked Action, leaves Stings of Remorse behind it, which, like an Ulcer in the Flesh, makes the Mind smart with

with perpetual Wounds ; for Reason, which chafeth away all other Pains, creates Repentance, shames the Soul with Confusion, and punisheth it with Torment. But as those who are chill'd with a Palsey, or that burn with a Fever, feel acuter Grievs, than those who are scorch'd with the Sun, or froze up with the Severity of the Weather ; so those things which are casual and fortuitous, give us the least disturbance, because they are external Accidents. But the Man, whom the Truth of this makes uneasy ;

—— *Another did not run me on this Shelf ;
I was the Cause of all the Ills my self.*

Who not only laments his Misfortunes, but his Crimes, his Agonies are sharpen'd by the Turpitude of the Fact. Hence it comes to pass, that neither rich Furniture, nor Moveables, nor abundance of Gold ; not a Descent from an Illustrious Family, or Greatness of Authority ; not Eloquence, and all the Charms of Speaking can procure so great a Serenity of Life, as a Mind free from Guilt, and kept untainted, not only from Actions, but Purposes that are wicked. By this means the Soul will be not only unpolluted, but not disturb'd ; the Fountain will run clear and unfullied ; and the Streams that flow from it will be just and honest Deeds, Ecstasies of Satisfaction, a brisk Energy of Spirit, which makes a Man an Enthusiast in his Joy, and a tenacious Memory, sweeter than Hope, which, as *Pindar* saith, with a Virgin warmth cherisheth old Men. For as Shrubs, which are cut down with the Morning Dew upon them, do for a long time after retain their Fragrancy, as *Carneades* expresth it : So the good Actions of a wise Man perfume his Mind, and leave a rich Scent behind them. So that Joy is, as it were, watered with these Essences, and owes its flourishing to them. This makes him pity those, who not only bewail,

bewail, but accuse human Life, as if it was only a Region of Calamities, and a Place of Banishment appointed for their Souls.

That Saying of *Diogenes* extreamly pleaseth me, who seeing one sprucing himself up very neatly to go to a great Entertainment, asked him, *Whether every Day was not a Festival to a good Man?* And certainly, that which makes it the more splendid, is Sobriety. For the World is a spacious and beautiful Temple; this a Man is brought into as soon as he is born, where he is not to be a dull Spectator of what's immoveable, and the Works of Art, but things of a more sublime Nature, which, as *Plato* tells us, only a Mind divinely inspired can form true *Ideas* of, and which have the Principles of Life and Motion in themselves: Such as are the Sun, Moon and Stars; Rivers which are still supplied with fresh Accessions of Water; and the Earth, which with a Motherly Indulgence suckles the Plants, and feeds her sensitive Creatures. And if Life is the most perfect Institution which introduceth us, it is but just that it should be full of Chearfulness and Tranquility. For we are not to imitate the little Vulgar, who wait impatiently for the Jolly Days which are Consecrated to *Saturn*, *Bacchus* and *Pan*, that they may be merry with hired Laughter, when they pay such a Price to the Mimick and Stage-Player for their Diversions. But whilst the Farce is acted, we sit silent and composed; for no Man laments, when he is initiated in the Rites, when he beholds the Games of *Apollo*, or drinks in the *Saturnals*. But when the Gods order the Scenes, or supply us with Pastimes, the Enjoyment becomes sordid to us, and we wear out our wretched Lives in Care, Heaviness of Spirit, and bitter Complaints.

Men are delighted with the harmonious Touches of an Instrument; they are pleased likewise with the Melody of the Birds; and 'tis not without some recreation, that

they behold the Beasts frolicksom and sporting; but when the Frisk is over, and they begin to bellow, and curl their Brows, the ungrateful Noise, and their angry Looks offend them. But as for their own Lives, they suffer them to pass away without a smile, to boil with Passions, be involv'd in Business, and eaten out with endless Cares. And to ease them of the Sollicitudes, they will not seek out for Remedies themselves, nor hearken to the Reasons, or admit the Consolations of their Friends. But if these would more carefully advert to, it would be a means to bear their present Condition without regret; make them entertain kind and warm hopes of the Future, without the least Allay of Fear; think of their past Actions with a chearful Recollection; and be in no pain, for what sinister Accidents will befall them in the Course of their Lives.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. I.

Of Superstition or Indiscreet Devotion.

Made English by William Baxter,
Gent.

OUR great Ignorance of, and unacquaintedness with, the Divine Beings, most naturally runs in two Streams; whereof the one, in harsh and course Tempers, as in dry and stubborn Soils, produces *Atheism*; and the other, in the more tender and flexible, as in moist and yielding Grounds, a Superstitious dread. Indeed every wrong Judgment, in Matters of this Nature, especially, is a great unhappiness to us: But it is here attended with a disorder of a worse consequence than it self. For every passion is, as it were, an error enflamed: And as a Dislocation is the more painful when with a bruise, so are the Perversions of our Understandings, when attended with Passion. Is a Man of Opinion, that impartible bodies, and void, were the first Origins of Things? It is indeed a mistaken Conceit, but makes no Ulcer, no shooting, no searching pain. But is a Man of Opinion, That Wealth is his last good? This Error con-

tains in it a *Canker* ; it preys upon a Man's Spirits, it transports him, it suffers him not to sleep, it makes him horn-mad, it carries him over head-long precipices, and utterly dispirits and unmans him. Are there some again, that take

(a) For Vertue and Vice (a) for substantial Bodies ?
Substantial Bodies. This may be a very sottish Conceit indeed ; but
 Some it yet it bespeaks neither Lamentations nor Groans.
 seemshave Other such like Opinions and Conceits might be
 been of O- recounted.

pinion,
 That Vertue and Vice are a sort of Animals. See *Seneca E-*
pist. CXII.

(b) Poor (b) Poor Vertue ! thou wast but a name, and meer jest,
 Vertue ! And I, choust fool, did practise thee in earnest.
 thou wast
 but a Name.

These were the last words of *Hercules* upon Mount *Oeta*, if we may believe the *Tragedian*. *Dion* saith, They were repeated by *Brutus* a little before his Death ; but I had rather believe them spoke by the former, because he died Distracted.

And have quitted for thee, both Injustice, the way to Wealth, and Excess, the Parent of all true pleasure. These are the thoughts that call at once for our pity and indignation : For they'll engender swarms of Diseases, like Fly-blows and Vermine, in our minds.

To return then to our Subject : *Atheism*, which is a misjudging, that there are no blessed and incorruptible Beings, tends yet by its disbelief of a Divinity, to bring Men to a sort of unconcernedness, and indifferency of Temper : For the design of those that deny a God, is to ease themselves of his fear. But Superstition (which they call in *Greek*, a frightfulness of God) appears by its Appellation to be a distempered Opinion and Conceit, productive of such mean and abject Apprehensions, as debase, and break

a Man's Spirit, while he thinks there are Divine Powers indeed, but withal, fowre and vindictive ones. So that the *Atheist* is not at all, and the Superstitious is not duly affected with, the thoughts of God; Ignorance depriving the one of the Sense of his Goodness, and superadding to the other a perswasion of his Cruelty. *Atheism* then is but false reasoning single, but *Superstition* superadds a Passion. Every Distemper of our minds is truly base and ignoble; yet some passions are accompanied with a sort of levity, that makes Men appear gay, prompt and erect; and do either not at all, or but very little, incapacitate them for business. But the common charge upon all sorts of passions is, that they put our active Capacities into an hurry, and in the mean time suspend and stifle our Consideration. Fear alone, being equally destitute of Reason and Audacity, renders our whole irrational Part stupid, distracted and unserviceable. Therefore the *Greeks* call it, *Deima*, because it binds and locks up; and *Tarbos*, because it hares the Mind. But of all fears, none so dozes and confounds, as that of the vain Religionary. He fears not the Sea, that never goes to Sea; nor a Battel, that follows not the Camp; nor Robbers, that stir not abroad, nor malicious Informers, that is a Poor Man; nor Emulation, that leads a private Life, nor Earthquakes (c) that dwells in *Gaule*; nor Thunderbolts that dwells in *Ethiops*: but he that dreads Divine Powers, dreads every thing, the Land, the Sea, the Air, the Sky, the Dark, the Light, a Sound, a Silence, a Dream. (d) That dwells in *Ethiops*. That is, in that part of it which is above *Egypt*; for the upper *Ethiopia* is much troubled with Thunder. See *Ludolphus* his History of that Country.

(g) Send for some Old Woman that under-stands Purgations, and go dip thy self in the Sea, and then sit thee down upon the bare ground the rest of the Day.

(g) Send for some Old Woman that under-stands Purgations.

The Learned Dr. Holland was pleased to translate *πειράκλειαν γαῖαν* an old Trot of the Bake-house, although Crusenius had truly rendred it *Piatrix* to his hand. A Witch is called in Greek *κατάρτεια τέλεια*, *ἱερεία*, *πειράκλεια* and *ὑπομάκλεια* promiscuously, and by Sopocles, *ἐπομαγματῶν ἰδεῖς*, as I have here rendred the Word, *πειράκλεια*.

*Et veniet quæ lustrat annus lectumq; locumq;
Præferat & tremula Sulphur & ova manu.*

Ovid. de Art.

*That our bred Greeks should ever found such Rites,
Fitter for Eastern Slaves, and Bethlemites !*

As tumbling in mire, rowling themselves in Dunghills (b) keeping of Sabbaths, monstrous prostrations, long and obstinate sittings in a place, and vile and abject Adorations. They that have been careful to preserve good Singing, were used to direct the practisers of that Science, to sing with their Mouths in their true and proper postures: Should not we then admonish those that would address themselves to the Heavenly Powers, to do that also with a true and natural Mouth, least while we are so solicitous, that the Tongue of a Sacrifice be pure and right, we distort and abuse our own with silly and canting Language; and thereby expose the Dignity of our Divine and Ancient Piety, to contempt and raillery. It was not

(b) *Keeping of Sabbaths.*
Mr. Le Fevres well observes out of Horace, That the Sabbath was superstitiously observed by some of the Heathens.

(i) By the unpleasantly said somewhere (i) by the Comædian, to those that adorned their Beds with the needless Ornaments of Silver and Gold; since the Gods have given us nothing without some charge or industry of our own, except *sleep*, why will you make that so chargeable? It might be as well said to the Superstitious Bigot, since the Gods have bestowed sleep upon us, to the intent we might take some rest, and forget our sorrows, why will you needs make it a continual irksom tormenter, when you know your poor Soul hath ne'er another sleep to betake herself to? *Heraclitus* saith, That *they who are awake have a World in common amongst them; but they that are asleep, are retired each to his own private World.* But the frightful Visionary hath ne'er a World at all, either in common with others (k) or in private to himself: for neither can he use his Reason when awake, or be free from his fears when asleep; but hath his Reason always asleep, and his Fear always awake; nor hath he either an hiding Place or Refuge, *Polycrates* was formidable at *Samos*, and so was *Periander* at *Corinth*; but no man ever feared either of them that had made his escape to an equal and free Government. But he that dreads the Divine Government, as a sort of an inexorable and implacable Tyranny, whither can he remove? Whither can he fly? What Land, what Sea can he find, where God is not? Wretched and miserable Man! in what Corner of the World canst thou to hide thy self, as to think thou hast now escaped him? Slaves are allowed by the Laws, when they despair of obtaining their Freedoms, to demand a second sale, in hopes of kinder Masters. But Superstition allows of no Change

(k) *Nor in private.*
 Τὸ κοινὸν
 καὶ τὸ ἴδιον
 λόγος,
 I add, καὶ
 τὸ ἴδιον,
 which
 might be
 easily overlooked
 by the
 Transcriber,
 by reason of
 the seeming
 Repetition in
 τὸ ἴδιον,
 next after.

Change of Gods ; nor could he indeed find a God he would not fear, that dreads his own and his Ancestors Guardians ; that quivers at his Preservers and benign Patrons, and that trembles and shakes at those of whom we ask Wealth, Plenty, Concord, Peace and Direction to the best Words and Actions. Slaves again account it their Misfortune to become such, and can say,

*Both Man and Wife in direful Slavery ;
And with ill Masters too ! Fates worst Decree !*

How much more intolerable, think you, is their Condition, that can never possibly run away, escape or desert ? A Slave may fly to an Altar, and many Temples afford Sanctuary to Thieves ; and they that are pursued by an Enemy, think themselves safe, if they can catch hold on a Statue or a Shrine : But the superstitious Fears, Quivers, Dreads, most of all there, where others, when fearfullest, take greatest Courage. Never hale a fond Devote from the Altar ; it is his Place of Torment ; he is there chastised. In one Word : Death it self, the end of Life, puts no Period to this vain and foolish Dread ; but it transcends those Limits, and extends its Fears beyond the Grave (1) adding to it the Conceit of Immortal Ills ; and after respite from past Sorrows, fancies it shall next enter upon never-ending ones. I know this must be understood, as we use to say, *cum grano salis*. His Design here is not to contradict the Doctrine of Pythagoras, and his Disciple Plato, concerning the several sorts of Castigatory Punishments after Death ; but to vindicate the Divine and Blessed Being from the Imputation of a passionate Revenge, and from the prodigious Cruelty which Vulgar Wits use to fix upon him.

not what Gates of Hell open themselves from beneath, Rivers of Fire, together with *Stygian* Torrents, present themselves to view; a gloomy Darkneſs appears full of gaſtly Spectres, and horrid Shapes, with dreadful Aspects, and doleful Groans, together with Judges, Tormentors, Pits and Caverns, full of Millions of Miſeries and Woes.

(m) *Thus is the wretched Superſtitioſiſt but prepared.* The Greek Text in this place wants ſome Correction: for $\kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\tau\omicron\mu\eta\ \pi\alpha\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, I read $\kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\tau\omicron\mu\iota\omega\ \pi\alpha\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, and for $\alpha\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\lambda\alpha$, $\alpha\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\lambda\iota\alpha$; which later *Guilelmus Plantius* translates *Inevetabilia*. And ſo the whole will run thus, $\epsilon\pi\omega\varsigma\ \eta\ \kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omega\gamma\ \delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\tau\omicron\mu\iota\omega\ \pi\alpha\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\ \epsilon\kappa\pi\epsilon\acute{\rho}\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\ \alpha\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\lambda\iota\alpha\ \pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\delta\omicron\kappa\alpha\upsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\ \pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\kappa\epsilon\upsilon$.

(m) Thus is the wretched Superſtitioſiſt but prepared by paſt Calamities, to expect greater, and more irremediable ones. Atheiſm is attended with one of this. True indeed, the Ignorance is very lamentable and ſad: For to be either blind, or overſeen in matter of this Conſequence, cannot but be a fatal Unhappineſs to the Mind, it being then deprived of its faireſt and

brighteſt Eye, the Knowledge of God. Yet this Opinion (as hath been ſaid) is not neceſſarily accompanied with any diſordering, ulcerous, frightful or ſlaviſh Paſſion. *Plato* thinks the Gods never gave Men Muſic, the Science of Melody and Harmony, for meer delectation, or to tickle the Ear: but that the diſordered Parts of the Circulations, and beauteous Fa-
brick of the Soul, and that of it that roves about the Body, and many times for want of Tune and Air, breaks forth into many Extravagancies and Exceſſes, might be ſweetly recalled, and artfully wound up to their former Conſent and Agreement.

(n) No

(n) No Animal accurst by Jove,
Musicks sweet Charms can ever love.

(n) No A-
nimal ac-
curst by
Jove. The

Heathens had two principal Gods, a good, and a bad one; and as they imputed the Creation of good and useful things to the former, so they attributed all Evil and Destructive things to the latter. Thus we find the *Egyptians* ascribing this healing Plant to *Osiris*, and that poisonous Weed to *Typhon*, and the like of Animals.

Saith *Pindar*. For all such will rave and grow outrageous straight. Of this we have an Instance in *Tigers*, which (as they say) if they hear but a *Tabor* beat near them, will rage immediately, and run stark mad; and in fine, tear themselves to pieces. They certainly suffer the less inconvenience of the two, that either through defect of hearing, or utter Deafness, are wholly insensible of Musick, and therefore unmoved by it. It was a great Misfortune indeed to *Tiresias*, the Divine, that he wanted sight to see his Friends and Children; but a far greater to *Athamas* and *Agave*, to see them in the Shapes of Lions and Bucks. And it had been happier for *Hercules*, when he was distracted, if he could have neither seen nor felt his Children, though by him; then to have used those he so tenderly loved, like the worst of Enemies.

Well then: Is not this the very Case of the Atheist, and blind Devotionary? the former sees not God at all, the latter believes not his Existence; the former wholly overlooks him, but the latter mistakes his Benignity for Terror, his Paternal Affection for Tyranny, his Providence for Cruelty, and his Frank Simplicity for Savageness and Brutality.

Again:

Again : The Work-man in Copper, Stone and Wax, can perswade such , that the Gods are in human Shape ; for so they make them, so they draw them , and so they worship them : But they'l not hear either Philosophers or States-men, that discribe the venerable Nature of the Divinity, by Goodness, Magnanimity, Placidness and Beneficence. The one therefore hath neither a Sense nor Belief of that Divine Good he might participate of ; and the other dreads and fears it. In a Word : *Atheism* is an absolute Insensibleness of God, proceeding from a Dis-belief of the very Being of Goodness ; and Superstition, a blind Heap of Self contradicting, and mis-matcht Passions, proceeding from an inverting of the Notions of Good and Evil. They are afraid of their Gods, and yet run to them ; they fawn upon them, and reproach them ; they invoke them and accuse them, It is the Common Destiny of Humanity, not to enjoy perpetual good Fortune, or an uninterrupted Felicity.

*Nor pains, nor age, nor Labour they e're bore,
Nor visited rough Acherons hoarse shore.*

Saith *Pindar* of the Gods : but human Passions and Affairs are liable to a strange Multipicity of uncertain Accidents and Contingencies. Consider well the *Atheist*, and observe his Behaviour ; first in things not under the Dispose of his Will : if he be otherwise a Man of Temper, he is silent under his present Circumstances, and is providing himself with either Remedies or Palliatives for his Misfortunes. But if he be a fretful and impatient Man, his whole Complaint is against Fortune : He cries out, That nothing is managed here below ,

low, either after the Rules of a strict Justice, or the orderly Course of a Providence ; and that all Human Affairs are hurried and driven without either Premeditation or Distinction. This is not the Demeanor of the Superstitious ; if the last thing do but happen amiss to him, he sits him down plunged in Sorrow, and raises himself a vast Tempest of intollerable and incurable Passions, and presents his Fancy with nothing but Terrors, Fears, Surmises and Distractions, until he hath overwhelmed himself with Groans and Fears. He blames neither Man, nor Fortune, nor the Times, nor himself ; but charges all upon God, from whom he fancies a whole Deluge of Vengeance to be a pouring down upon him : and as if he were not only unfortunate, but in open Hostility with Heaven (o) he conceits he is (o) He punished by God, and now a making Satisfaction conceits he for his past Crimes, and saith, his Sufferings are was punished by all just and long of himself. Again, when the God. That *Atheist* falls sick, he reckons up, and calls to his he himself Remembrance his several Surfeits and Debaucheries, his irregular Course of Living, excessive believed a Labours, or unaccustomed Changes of Airs or Divine *Nemesis* and Re- publick Administration, and either falls into punishment, pular Disgrace, or comes to be ill presented to his is very Prince, he searches for the Causes in himself, plain, as and those about him, and asks ; well otherwise, as by that

excellent Tract of his *De sera numinis vindicta*. But his present Design is to remove that false Opinion which weak and Superstitious Tempers have of a Divine Justice, while they improve every little contingent Disaster of their own to a judicial Vengeance, and turn all the ordinary Sufferings and Misfortunes of Human Life into fatal Tragedies.

Where have I err'd ? what have I done amiss ?

What should be done by me that undone is ?

(p) Both
to God and
Angels.

I here,
with Mr.
Le Fevre
accom-
modate
θεοῖς καὶ
ἀγγέλοις,
to our
own vul-
gar Ex-
pression:
Indeed,
Dæmones
is proper-
ly the
Name of
their Ef-
fence, and
Angels but
of their
Office.

(q) *Wipe*
away his
Tears, cut
his Hair.
So I have
cho'se to
render it
notwith-
standing
Le Fevres

But the fanciful Superstitious accounts every little Distemper in his Body, or Decay in his Estate, the Death of his Children, and Crosses, and Disappointments in Matters relating to the Publick, as the immediate Stroaks of God, and the Incurfions of some Vindictive *Dæmon*. And therefore he dares not attempt to remove or relieve his Disasters, or to use the least Remedy, or oppose himself to them, for fear he should seem to struggle with God, or to make Resistance under Correction. If he be sick, he thrusts away the Physician; if he be in any Grief, he shuts out the Philosopher, that would comfort and advise him: *Let me alone*, saith he, *to pay for my Sins, I am a curst and vile Offender, and detestable* (p) *both to God and Angels*. But suppose a Man unperswaded of a Divinity, in never so great Sorrow and Trouble, you may yet possibly (q) wipe away his Tears, cut his Hair, and force away his Mourning; but how will you come at this Superstitious Penitentiary, either to speak to him, or to bring him any Relief? He sits him down without Doors in Sack-cloth, or wrapt up in foul and nasty Rags; yea, many times rowls himself naked in Mire, repeating o-

conjecture. That ἀποσιζαε, should be read for ἀποσιζαε. It is very well known, that the Hare was sometimes let grow in Mourning, but carelesly and untrim'd. *Plantius* renders it truly; *Lacrymas sistere & abstergere possis, capillum etiam tondere & restem adimere.*

ver I know not what Sins and Transgressions of his own; as how he did eat this thing, and drink t'other thing, or went away prohibited by his Genius. But suppose all goes well with him, and he be now at his best, and most temperate Devotions; you shall even then find him sitting down in the midst of his House all be-charmed, and bespell'd with a parcel of Old Women about him, tugging all they can light on, and hanging it upon him, as (to use an Expression of *Bions*) upon some Nail or Pegg. It is reported of *Teribazus*, that being seized by the *Persians*, he drew out his Cimeter, and being a very stout Person, defended himself bravely; but when they cryed out and told him, he was apprehended by the Kings Order, he immediately put up his Sword, and presented his Hands to be bound. Is not this the very Case of the Superstitious? Others can oppose their Misfortunes, repel their Troubles, and furnish themselves with Retreats, or Means of avoiding the Stroke of things not under the dispose of their Wills; but the Superstitious Person without any Bodies speaking to him, but meerly upon his own telling himself to the purpose following: This thou undergoest, vile Wretch, by the Direction of Providence, and by Heavens just Appointment; immediately casts away all Hope, surrenders himself up, and shuns and affronts his Friends that would relieve him: Thus do these sottish Fears oftentimes convert tolerable Evils into fatal and insupportable ones. The ancient *Midas* (as the Story goes of him) being much troubled and disquieted by certain Dreams, grew so melancholy thereupon that he made himself away by drinking of Bulls

Blood.

(r) *Betwixt the Lacedæmonians and the Messinæes.* The *Greek* Text runs thus ; ἐν τῷ περὶ Μεσσηνίας πολέμῳ, where *Xylander* reads, for Μεσσηνίας, Λακεδαιμονίας. But it should be thus amended ; ἐν τῷ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ Μεσσηνίας πολέμῳ.

Blood. *Aristodemus* King of *Messina*, when a War broke out (r) betwixt the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Messinæes*, upon some Dogs howling like Wolves, and Grass coming up about his Ancestors Domestick Altar, and his Divines presaging ill upon it, fell into such a Fit of Sullenness and Despair, that he slew himself. And perhaps it

had been as well if the *Athenian* General *Nicias* had been eased of his Folly the same way, that *Midas* and *Aristodemus* were, as to have sat still for fear of a Lunar Eclipse, while he was invested by an Enemy ; and so be himself, together with an Army of forty thousand Men (that were all either slain or taken) made a Prisoner, and dying ingloriously. There was nothing formidable in the Interposition of the Earth betwixt the Sun and the Moon ; neither was there any thing dreadful in a Shadows meeting the

(s) *At the time of an Engagement.*

Xylander reads for

ἐν χειρῶν

ποδῶν, ἐν χειρῶν περιόδῳ, and expounds it of the Revolutions of the Celestial Bodies ; but I doubt not but it should be ἐν χειρῶν πόλεμῳ, according to my Version. *Xylander* himself hath these Words in his Notes, *Interpres in belli opportunitate, nescio quid sequitur.*

(t) *The*

(*t*) *The Seas begin in Azure Rods to lie ;
A teeming Cloud of Pitch hangs on the Skie,
Right o're Gyre Rocks, there is a tempest nigh.*

(*r*) *The
Seas begin
in Azure
Rods to
lye. I read*

with the *Aldine* and *Basil* Editions, *Γλαυκορῶδες*, for *Γλαυκο-
ρῶα βαδύς* ; which besides its Non-sence, is followed by none
of the *Versions*. Likewise for *γυρεσσὶν*, I put *γύρων*, as *Xylander*
found it in his Copy, with *πετρῶν*, added in the Margin. *Gyre*
where the Rocks that *Ajax*, Son of *Oileus*, was split upon,

which as soon as the Pilot sees, he falls to his
Prayers, and invokes his Tutelar Demons, but
neglects not in the mean time to hold to the
Rudder, and let down the Main-yard ; and
so,

*By gathering in his Sails, with mighty pain,
Escapes the Hell pits of the raging Main.*

Hesiod directs his Husband-man, before he
either Plow or Sow, to pray to the Terrestrial
Jove, and the Venerable *Ceres*, but with his
Hand upon the Plow-Tail. *Homer* acquaints us,
how *Ajax*, being to engage in a single Combat
with *Hector*, had the *Grecians* pray to the Gods
for him ; and while they were at their Devoti-
ons, he was a putting on his Armor. Likewise
after *Agamemnon* had thus prepared his Souldiers
for the Fight ;

*Each make his Spear to glitter as the Sun,
Each see his Warlike Target well hung on.*

He then prayed ;

Grant me great Jove to throw down Priam's Hope.

For God is the Brave Man's Hope, and not the Cowards Excuse. The *Jews* indeed once sate on their Tails, it being forsooth their Sabbath Day, and suffered their Enemies to rear their Scalling Ladders, and make themselves Masters of their Walls, and so lay still until they were all caught like so many Trouts in the Drag-Net of their own Superstition. Such then is the Behaviour of Superstition, in times of Adversity, and in things out of the Power of Man's Will. Nor doth it a jot excel *Atheism* in the more agreeable and pleasurable part of our Lives: Now what we esteem the most agreeable things in Human Life, is our Holy Days, Temple-Fests, Initiatings, Processionings, with our publick Prayers, and Solemn Devotions. Mark we now the *Atheists* Behaviour here: he laughs at all that's done, with a frantick and fatal Laughter indeed, and now and then whispers to a Confident of his: *The Devil is in these People sure, that can imagine God can be taken with these Fooleries*; and this is the worst of his Disasters. But now the ignorant Devote would fain be pleasant and gay, but cannot for his Heart. The whole Town is filled with Odours of Incense and Perfumes, while his poor Soul is entertained with an uncomfortable Mixture of Hymns and Sighs. He looks pale with a Garland on his Head, he Sacrifices and Fears, Prays with a faultring Tongue, and offers Incense with a trembling Hand. In a Word, he utterly baffles that Saying of *Pythagoras*, *That we are then best when we come near the Gods*. For the Superstitious Person is then in
his

his worst and most pitiful Condition, when he approaches the Temples and Oratories of the Gods. So that I cannot but wonder at those that charge Atheism with Impiety, and in the mean time, acquit Superstition; When *Anaxagoras* was indicted of Blasphemy, for having affirmed the *Sun* to be a red hot Stone; yet the *Kimmerians* were never much blamed for denying his being. What? is he that holds there is no God, guilty of Impiety? and is not he that describes him as the Superstitious do, much more Guilty?

I, for my own part, had much rather People should say of me, that there neither is, nor ever was such a Man as *Plutarch*, than they should say, *Plutarch* is an unsteady, fickle, froward, vindictive and touchy Fellow. If you invite others to Sup with you, and chance to leave out *Plutarch*; or if some Business falls out that you cannot wait at his Door with the Morning Salute; or if when you meet him, you don't speak to him, he'll fasten upon you some where with his Teeth, and bite the Part through, or catch one of your Children and cane him, or turn his Beast into your Corn, and spoil your Crop. When *Timothy* the *Musician*, was one day singing at *Athens* an Hymn to *Diana*, in which, among other things, was this,

Mad, raving, tearing, foaming Deity.

Kinesias, the *Lyrick* Poet, stood up from the midst of the Spectators, and spoke aloud, *I wish thee with all my Heart such a Goddess to thy Daughter, Timothy.* Such like, nay, worse are the Conceits of the Superstitious about this Goddess *Diana*.

(u) *Thou dost on the Bed-cloaths jump. This remarkable Passage is wholly left out by Xylander in his*

(u) *Thou dost on the Bed-cloaths jump,
And there liest like a Lump :
Thou dost tantalize the Bride,
When love's Charms by thee are try'd :
Thou look'st grim, and full of dread,
When thou walk'st to find the Dead.
Thou down Chairs and Tables rumbl'st,
When with Oberon thou tumbl'st.*

Version, as unintelligible; Crusenius, Plantins, Amiot, and Le Fevre have made perfect Non-sence of it. The Words are these: αἶτε κἀν ἄπ' ἀλγόναι ἀίξασα, αἶτε χαλεχόνα κναίσατε, αἶτε κἀν ἔκκεκρε μαῖνσα ἄν περυσμένα ἐσῆλθε, αἶτε καὶ ἐν τειπέδων καθ' ἐμαΐτευσιν ὀπισωμένα ἐπὶ παλαμναίφ συμπλεχθεῖσα. I read them thus; αἶτε κἀν ἄμπρόναι ἀίξασα, αἶτε καὶ λέχ' ἀσπκναίσατε, αἶτε κἀνὰ νεκρὸς μαῖνσα ἄν περυσμένα ἐσῆλθε, αἶτε καὶ ἐν τειπέδων καθερμάτευσιν ὀπισωμένα ἐπὶ παλαμναίφ συμπλεχθεῖσα. By which may be seen how little Variation I have made. ἄμπρόναι was in Xylander's Copy instead of ἄπ' ἀλγόναι. I need not add, That τειπές, signifies as well a three Legg'd Table, as a Trivet. Some Difficulty I confess there is in the Word καθερμάτευσιν, but however I take it for a Stone or Prop under the Tables Foot in poor Mens Houses, from the simple Word ἔρμα; and perhaps ἔρμαλιύω, καθερμαλιύω, and καθερμάτευναι should be added to Stephens Thesaurus of the Greek Tongue, where they are wanting.

Nor have they any milder Sentiments of *Apollo, Juno or Venus*: for they are equally scared with them all. Alas! what could poor *Niobe* ever say, that could be so reflecting upon the Honour of *Latona* as that which Superstition makes Fools believe of her? The Lady it seems had given her some hard Words, for which she fairly shot her.

Six Daughters and six Suns when in their Prime.

So implacable was she, and insatiate with the Calamities of another. Now if this Goddess was really thus Cholerick and Vindictive, and so highly incens'd with bad Language, and had not the Wisdom to smile at human Frailty and Ignorance, but suffered her self to be thus transported with Passion; I much marvel she did not shoot them too, that told this cruel Story of her, and charged her both in Speech and Writing with so much Spleen and Rancour. We oft accuse Queen *Hecuba* of barbarous and savage Bitterness for having once said in *Hom*er ;

Would God I had his Liver 'twixt my Teeth.

Yet the Superstitious believe, if a Man taste of a Minnow or Bleak (w) the Syrian Goddess will eat his Shins through, fill his Body with Sores, (w) The Syrian Goddess will eat his
Shin through. Fish (The Physicians tells us) are at best but of an illaudable Concoction; no wonder then, if in so warm a Clime as Syria, they putrifie the Blood, By the Syrian Goddess, is meant the Moon, called by the Phœnicians *Astorath*, and the Queen of Heaven; and by our Ancestors, *Easter* and *Friga*. *Hieronimus Velschius*, would have this eating of *Shins*, to relate to the *Vena Medinenfis*, treated of by *Avicen*; which is a small Worm like a Thread, sometimes near half a Yard in length, which if it be not carefully drawn out by a skilful Chirurgion, will in a little time mortifie the Leg.

However, this we may be sure of, that as the ignorant *Pagans* lookt upon the Heavenly Bodies as not only Animals, but as Gods; so they foolishly apply'd their general Influence to Particular Effects; and so set almost all Natural Efficiencies upon the score of their Astrological Religion.

and dissolve his Liver. Is it a Sin then to speak amiss of the Gods? and is it not to think amiss of them? And is not thinking the cause of speaking ill? For the only reason of our Dislike to Detraction is, because we look upon it as a Token of ill-will to us; and we therefore take those for our Enemies that mis-represent us, because we look upon them as untrusty and disaffected. You see then what the Superstitious think of the Divinity, while they fancy the Gods such heady, faithless, fickle, revengeful, cruel and fretful things. The consequence of which is, That the Superstitious Person must needs at once both fear and hate them. And indeed, how can he otherwise choose, whilst he thinks the greatest Calamities he either doth now, or must hereafter undergo, are wholly owing to them? Now he that both hates and fears the Gods, must of necessity be their Enemy. And if he trembles, fears, prostrates, sacrifices, and sits perpetually in their Temples, that is no marvel at all: For the very worst of Tyrants are complemented and attended; yea, have Statues of Gold erected to them; but are nevertheless hated in private for all that. *Hermolaus* waited on *Alexander*, and *Pausanias* was of *Philips* Guard, and so was *Chærea* of *Caligula's*; yet every one of these said, I warrant you, in his Heart as he went along;

*Had I a Power as my Will is good,
Know this bold Tyrant, I would have thy Blood.*

The *Atheist* believes there are no Gods; the Superstitious would have none, but is a Believer against his Will, and would be an Infidel if

if he durst ; and be as glad to ease himself of the Burthen of his Fear, as *Tantalus* would be to slip his Head from under the great Stone that hangs over him, and Would bleſs the Condition of the *Atheiſt*, as absolute Freedom, compared with his own. Indeed, the Superſtitious is an *Atheiſt* in his Heart ; but is too much a Coward to think as he is inclined. Moreover, *Atheiſm* hath no hand at all in Superſtition ; but Superſtition, as it gave *Atheiſm* its firſt Birth, ſo it ſerves it ever ſince, it being the beſt Apology it can make for it ſelf ; which although it be neither a good nor a fair one , yet is it the moſt ſpecious and colorable. For Men were not at firſt made *Atheiſts* by any Fault they found in the Heavens, or Stars, or Seaſons of the Year ; or in thoſe Revolutions or Motions of the Sun about the Earth that make the Day and Night ; nor yet by obſerving any Miſtake or Diſorder, either in the Breeding of Animals, or the Production of Fruits. No, it was the uncouth Actions and ridiculous and ſenſleſs Paſſions of Superſtition ; her canting Words, her fooliſh Geſtures, her Charms, her Magick, her freekiſh Proceſſions, her Tabourings, her foul Expiations, her vile Methods of Purgation, and her barbarous and inhuman Penances, and Bemirings at the Temples ; it was theſe, I ſay, that gave occaſion to many to affirm, it would be far happier there were no Gods at all, than ſuch as are pleaſed and delighted with ſuch fantaſtical Toys, and that thus abuſe their Votaries, and are incenſed and pacified with Trifles. Had it not been much better for the ſo much famed *Galls* and *Scythians*, they had neither thought nor imagined, nor heard any thing of their Gods, than

to have believed them, such as would be pleased with the Blood of Human Sacrifices ; and that accounted such for the most compleat and meritorious of Expiations ? How much better Mr. Le Feuvre's Opinion, That *Theodoros* should be read here for *Critias* : to have believed either (x) a *Critias*, or a *Diagoras* for their first Law-maker, that so they might have believed neither God nor Spirits, than to make such Offerings to *Saturn* as they made ? not such as *Empedocles* speaks of, where he thus touches the Sacrifices of Beasts :

(x) *The Sire his Child.*

(y) *The Sire his Child, when in strange form he's caught.
First prais'd, then kill'd it for his God : great Sor !*

The Opinion of Transmigration is (as I beleive) almost wholly owing to those dark and Magical Practices of turning Men into several Shapes, which was so familiar in the *East* in Ancient Times, and is still where Witchcraft and Diabolical Illusions are in use. See *Herodotus* in his *Melpomene*.

But they knowingly and wittingly themselves (z) devoted their own Children ; and they that had none of their own, bought some poor People, and then sacrificed them like Lambs or Pidgeons, the poor Mother standing by the while, without either a Sigh or Tear : and if by chance she fetcht a Sigh, or let fall a Tear, she lost the Price of her Child, and it was nevertheless sacrificed. All the places round the Image were in the mean time filled with the noise of Hauling. Scripture-Custom of offering Children to *Moloch*, of any that I remember to have met with.

boys

boys and Tabors, to drown the poor Infant's Crying. Suppose we now the Typhons and Giants should depose the Gods, and make themselves Masters of Mankind, what sort of Sacrifices, think you, would they expect? or what other Expiations would they require? King *Xerxes* his Queen, *Amistris*, buried twelve Men alive, as a Sacrifice to *Pluta*, to prolong her own Life; and yet *Plato* saith (a) This God is called in Greek *Hades*, because he is Placid, Wise and Wealthy; and retains the Souls of Men by Persuasion and Oratory. That great Naturalist *Xenophanes*, seeing the *Aegyptians* beating their Breasts, and lamenting at the so-

(a) This God is called in Greek *Hades*, because he is Placid, Wise and Wealthy. He is Named also *Ades Aidoneus*, and is the very same with the *Gothick Odian*, or *Woden*, who was their Evil God, and presided over War, Famine and Death. He had his Name from the *Gothick* and *Saxon* Word *Eod*, or *Eud*, which signifies Good and Rich; answerable to the Greek *Pluton*, and the Latin *Dis*. Indeed, he was no other than *Sol Terrestris*, the *Night-Sun*; as *Proserpina* was the *Moon* ses. For it was the Fancy of the rude Antiquity, That the *Sun* and *Moon* did alight upon the Earth when they went down, and so turned into *Hobgoblins*, and walk'd until break of Day.

llemn times of their Devotions, gave them this pertinent and seasonable Admonition. (b) If they (b) If they are Gods, said he, don't cry for them; and it are Gods. they are Men, don't sacrifice to them. There is He takes certainly no Infirmary belonging to us, that ei occasion ther contains such a multiplicity of Errors and here, under the Person of

that great Philosopher *Xenophanes*, to insinuate his Opinion of the Mysteries and publick Worship then in vogue. Indeed the whole *Pagan* Superstition, as *St. Paul* well notes, was performed to certain *Dæmonia*, which every Word is expounded by *Iosephus*, who was both a Learned Man, and a great Priest, by *κακῶν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα*, That is, *The Souls of little dirty Knaves*, that delight even after their Deaths, to cheat and abuse Mankind.

fond Passions, or that consists of such incongruous and incoherent Opinions, as this of Superstition doth. It behoves us therefore to do our utmost to escape it; but withal, we must see we do it safely and prudently; and not run rashly and inconsiderately, as People do from the Incursions of Robbers, or from Fire, and fall into bewildred and untrodden Paths full of Pits and Precipices. For so some, while they would avoid Superstition, leap over the Golden mean of true Piety, into the harsh and course Extream of *Atheism*.

Plu-

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. I.

The Apothegms, or Remarkable Sayings of Kings and great Commanders.

By E. Hinton, of Witney in Oxfordshire.

Plutarch to Trajan the Emperor, wisheth Prosperity.

Artaxerxes King of Persia (O Cæsar Trajan, the greatest of Princes) esteeming it no less Royal and Bountiful, kindly and chearfully to accept small, then to make Presents; when he was in a Progress, and a common Country Labourer, having nothing else, took up Water with both his Hands out of a River, and presented it to him; - he smiled, and received it pleasantly, measuring the Kindness, not by the Value of the Gift, but by the Affection of the Giver. And *Lycurgus* ordained in *Sparta* very cheap Sacrifices, that they might always worship the Gods readily and easily, with such things as were at hand. Upon the same account, when I bring a mean and slender Present, of the Common First-fruits of Philosophy, accept also (I beseech you) with the same Candor, these short and smart *Memorials*, if they may contribute any thing to the Knowledge of the *Manners* and Dispositions of Great Men, *Usage*. which are more apparent in their Words, than in their Actions. My former Treatise contains the

Lives

Lives of the most Eminent Princes, Law-givers and Generals, both *Romans* and *Grecians*; but many of their Actions admit a mixture of Fortune; whereas such Speeches and Answers as happen'd amidst their Employments, Passions and Events, affords us (as in a Looking-glass) a clear Discovery of each particular Temper and Disposition. Accordingly, *Siramnes* the *Persian*, to such as wondred that he usually spoke like a wise Man, and yet was unsuccessful in his Designs; replied, *I my self am Master of my Words, but the King and Fortune have Power over my Actions.* In the former Treatise, Speeches and Actions are mingled together, and require a Reader that is at leisure; but in this, the Speeches, as the Specimen. Seeds and Substance of those Lives being placed by themselves, will not (I think) be tedious to you, while, in short, you take a review of many memorable Persons.

Cyrus's Apothegms. The *Persians* affect such as are Hawk Nosed, and think them most Beautiful, because *Cyrus*, the most beloved of their Kings, was of that Shape. *Cyrus* said, *Those that would not do good for themselves, ought to be compelled to do good for others. And that no Body ought to govern, unless he was better than those he governed.* When the *Persians* were desirous to exchange their hilly and rocky, for a plain and soft Country, he would not suffer them; saying, *That both the Seeds of* *Become like to.* *Plants, and the Lives of Men resemble the Soyl they inhabit.*

DARIUS. *Darius* the Father of *Xerxes* praised himself for his Presence of Mind in Battles and Dangers. When he laid a Tax upon his Subjects, he summoned his Lieutenants, and asked them, Whether the Tax was Burthensom or no? when they told him it was moderate, he commanded them to pay half as much as was at first demanded. As he was opening a Pomegranate, one asked him, What it

it was, of which he would wish for a Number equal to the Seeds thereof? He said, of *Zopyrus's*, who was a Loyal Person, and his Friend. This *Zopyrus*, after he had maimed himself, by cutting off his Nose and Ears, beguiled the *Babylonians*; and being entrusted by them, betrayed the City to *Darius*; who often said, *That he would not have Zopyrus maimed to gain an hundred Babylons.*

SEMIRAMIS. *Semiramis Built a Monument for her self, with this Inscription, Whatever King wants Treasure, if he open this Tomb he may be satisfied. Darius therefore opening it, found no Treasure, but another Inscription of this import: If thou wast not a wicked Person, and of insatiable Covetousness, thou wouldst not disturb the Mansions of the Dead.*

XERXES. *Arimenes coming out of Bactria as a Rival with his Brother Xerxes, the Son of Darius, for the Kingdom; Xerxes sent Presents to him, commanding those that brought them, to say, With these your Brother Xerxes now honours you; and if he chance to be proclaimed King, you shall be the next Person to himself in the Kingdom. When Xerxes was declared King, Arimenes immediately did him Homage, and placed the Crown upon his Head; and Xerxes gave him the next place to himself. Being offended with the Babylonians, who rebelled, and having overcome them, he forbid them Weapons, but commanded they should practise Singing, and Playing on the Flute; keep Brothel-Houses and Taverns, and wear large Coats. He refused to eat Attick Figs that were brought to be sold, until (said he) we have Conquered the Country that doth produce them. When he caught some Grecian Scouts in his Camp, he did them no harm, but having allowed them to view his Army as much as they pleased, he let them go.*

ARTAXERXES.

ARTAXERXES. *Artaxerxes, the Son of Xerxes, fir-named Long-hand, because he had one Hand longer than the other; said, It was more Kingly to add, than to take away. He first gave leave to those that hunted with him, if they would, and saw occasion, to throw their Darts before him. He also first ordained that Punishment for his Nobles who had offended, that being stript, their Garments should be scourged instead of their Bodies; and whereas their Hair should have been plucked off, that the same should be imitated on their Coronets. When*

Satibarzanes his Chamberlain petitioned him Darius. in an unjust Matter, and he understood he Thirty thou-sand Pieces did it to gain Thirty thousand Pieces of Money, he ordered his Treasurer to bring the said of Gold. Sum, and gave them to him; saying, O Satibarzanes! take it, for when I have given you this, I shall not be poorer, but I had been more unjust if I had granted your Petition.

CYRUS the Younger. *Cyrus the Younger perswading the Lacedaemonians to side with him in the War, said, He had a stronger Heart than his Brother, and could drink more Wine unmixt than he, and bear it better. That his Brother, when he Hunted, could scarce sit his Horse; or when ill News arrived his Throne, he exhorted them to send him Men, promising he would give to Foot-men, Horses; to Horse-men, Chariots; to those that had Farms, Villages; and those that possessed Villages, he would make Lords of Cities: And that he would give them Gold and Silver, not by Tale, but by Weight.*

ARTAXERXES MNEMON. *Artaxerxes Mindful. his Brother, called Mnemon, did not only give very free and patient Access to any that met, or would speak with him, but commanded the Queen, his Wife, to draw the Curtains of the Chariot, that Petitioners might have the same Access to her also. When a Poor Man presented him with a very fair and great*

great Apple: *By the Sun* (said he) 'tis my Opinion, if this Person were entrusted with a small City, he would make it great. In his Flight, when his Carriages were plundered, and he was forced to eat dry Figs, and Barley-Bread; *Of how great Pleasure* (said he) have I hitherto lived ignorant?

PARYSATIS. *Parysatis*, the Mother of *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*, advised him that would discourse freely with the King, to use silken Words.

ORONTES. *Orontes*, King *Artaxerxes* his Son-in-Law falling into Disgrace, and being Condemned, said, *As Arithmeticians count sometimes Myriads on their Fingers, sometimes Unites only; in like manner the Favourites of Kings, sometimes can do every thing with them, sometimes little or nothing.*

MEMNON. *Memnon*, one of King *Darius* his Generals against *Alexander*, when a Mercenary Souldier excessively and impudently reviled *Alexander*, he struck him with his Spear; adding, *I pay you, that you may fight against* Common. *Friend.* *Alexander, not that you should reproach him.*

EGYPTIAN KINGS. The *Egyptian Kings*, according unto their Law, Swear their Judges, that they should not obey the King when he commands them to give an unjust Sentence.

POLTYS. *Poltys* King of *Thrace*, in the *Trojan War*, being solicited both by the *Trojan* and *Grecian* Embassadors, advised *Alexander* to restore *Helena*, promising to give him two Beautiful Women for her.

TERES. *Teres*, the Father of *Sitalces*, said, *When he was out of the Army, and had nothing to do, he thought there was no difference between him and his Grooms.*

COTYS. *Cotys*, to one that gave him a *Leopard*, gave him a *Lion* for it: He was naturally prone to Anger, and severely punished the Miscarriages of his Servants. When a Stranger brought him some Earthen Vessels, thin and brittle, but delicately shaped, and admirably adorned

adorned with Sculptures; he required the Stranger for them, and then brake them all in pieces: *Left* (said he) *my Passion should provoke me to punish excessively those that should break them.*

IDATHYRSUS. *Idathyrus*, King of *Scythia*, when *Darius* invaded him, solicited the *Ionian Tyrants*, that they would assert their Liberty, by breaking down the Bridge that was made over *Ister*; which they refusing to do, because they had sworn fealty to *Darius*, he called them good, best, lazy Slaves.

ATEAS. *Atreas* wrote to *Philip*, *You Reign over the Macedonians, Men that have learned Fighting; and I over the Scythians, which can fight with Hunger and Thirst.* As he was rubbing his Horse, turning to the Embassadors of *Philip*, he asked whether *Philip* did so or no? He took *Ismerias* an excellent Piper Prisoner, and commanded him to play, and when others admired him, he swore it was more pleasant to hear a Horse neigh.

SCILURUS. *Scilurus* on his Death-bed, being about to leave fourscore Sons surviving, offered a Bundle of Darts to each of them, and bid them break them: When all refused, drawing out one by one, he easily broke them. To teach them, if they held together, they would continue strong; but if they fell out, and were divided, they would become weak.

GELO. *Gelo* the Tyrant, after he had overcome the *Carthaginians* at *Himera*, made Peace with them; and among other Articles, compelled them to subscribe this: *That they should no more Sacrifice their Children to Saturn.* He often conducted the *Syracusians* to plant their Fields, as if it had been to War, that the Country might be improved by Husbandry, and they might not be corrupted by Idleness. When he demanded a Sum of Money of the Citizens, and thereupon a Tumult was raised, he told them, *He would but borrow it: and after the War was ended, restored it to them again.* At a Feast, when
a Harp

a Harp was offered, and others, one after another, tun'd and play'd upon it ; he sent *easily and* for his Horse, *and with an easie Agility*, leapt *nimbly* upon him.

HIERO. *Hiero, who succeeded Gelo in the Tyranny, said, He was not disturbed by any that freely spoke against him. He judged those that revealed a Secret, did an Injury to those to whom they revealed it ; for we hate not only those who tell, but them also that hear what we would not have disclosed. One upbraided him with his stinking Breath ; and he blamed his Wife, that never told him of it : but she said, 'I thought all Men smelt so. To Xenophanes the Colophonian, who said, He had much ado to maintain two Servants ; but Homer (said he) whom you disparage, maintains above ten thousand, although he is dead. He fined Epicharmus the Comedian, for speaking unseemly when his Wife was by.*

DIONYSIUS. *Dionysius the Elder, when the Publick Orators were chosen by Lot, and his Lot was the Letter M. said one to him, Μεγλοχρεῖς, You will make a foolish Speech, O Dionysius ! You are mistaken, said he, Μοναρχήσω, I shall be a Monarch : and as soon as his Speech was ended, the Syracusians chose him General. In the beginning of his Tyranny, the Citizens rebelling, besieged him ; and his Friends advised him to resign the Government, rather than to be taken and slain by them ; but he seeing a Cook butcher an Ox, and the Ox immediately fall down dead : Is it not a hateful thing, said he, that for fear of so short a Death, we should resign so great a Government ? His Son, who had debauch'd a Free-man's Wife, asked him, Whom he would make his Successor in the Government ? And he in anger asked his Son, When he knew him guilty of such a Crime ? But you, Sir (replied the Son) had not a Tyrant for your Father ; nor will you (said he) have a Tyrant for your Son, unless you mend your Manners. And another time going into his Sons House, and seeing*

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there

there abundance of Silver and Gold Plate, he cryed out, *Thou art not capable of being a Tyrant, who hast made never a Friend with all the Plate I have given thee.* When he exacted Money of the *Syracusians*, and they lamenting and beseeching him, pretended they had none; he still exacted more, twice or thrice renewing his Demands, until he heard them Laugh and Jear at him, as they went to and fro in the Market-place, and then he gave over. *Now (said he) since they contemn me, it is a sign they have nothing left.* When his Mother, being ancient, requested him to find a Husband for her, *I can (said he) overpower the Laws of the City, but I cannot force the Law of Nature.* Although he punished other Malefactors severely, he favoured such as stole Cloths, that the *Syracusians* might forbear Feasting and Drunken Clubs. A certain Person told him privately, he could shew him a way how he might know before-hand such as conspired against him: *Let us know, said he, going aside: Give me (said the Person) a Talent, that you may seem to know the Signs and Tokens of Plotters;* and he gave it him, pretending he knew them, much admiring the Subtilty of the Man.

Being asked, Whether he was at leisure? *No Intend. (said he) nor do I ever expect to be.* Hearing

that two young Men very much reviled him, and the Tyranny, in their Cups; he invited both of them to Supper, and perceiving that one of them prattled freely and foolishly, but the other drank warily and sparing; he dismissed the first, as a Drunken Fellow, whose Treason lay no deeper than his Wine; and put the other to Death, as a disaffected and resolved Traytor. Some blaming him for rewarding and preferring a wicked Man, and one hated by the Citizens; *I would have (said he) some body hated more than my self.* When he gave Presents to the Embassadors of *Corinth*, and they refused them, because their Law forbid them to receive Gifts from a Prince to whom they were sent in Embassy: he

he said, *They did very ill to destroy the only Advantage of Tyranny : And to declare, That it was dangerous to receive a Kindness from a Tyrant.* Hearing that a Citizen had buried a quantity of Gold in his House, he sent for it ; and when the Party removing to another City, bought a Farm with part of his Treasure which he had concealed ; *Dionisius* sent for him back, and restored him the rest of his Gold ; bidding him lay it out, and not make that useless, which was useful to him.

DIONYSIUS Junior said, *He maintained many Sophisters ; not that he admired them, but that he might be admired for their Sake.* When *Polycenes* the Logician told him he had baffled him : *Tes (said he) in Words, but I have convinced you by my Deeds ; for you, leaving your own, attend me and my Fortune.* When he was discharged from his Government, and one asked him, What he got by *Plato* and *Philosophy* ? He answered, *That he might bear so great a Change of Fortune patiently.* Being asked how it came to pass, that his Father, a private and poor Man, obtained the Government of *Syracuse* ; and he possess'd of it, and the Son of a Tyrant lost it. *My Father,* said he, *entred upon Affairs when the Democracy was hated ; but I, when Tyranny was become odious.* To another that asked him the same Question, *My Father,* said he, *bequeathed to me his Government, but not his Fortune.*

AGACHOCLES, was the Son of a Potter : when he became Lord, and was proclaimed King of *Sicily*, he was wont to place earthen and golden Vessels together, and shew them to young Men, telling them, *These I made first, but now these by my Valour and Industry.* As he was besieging a City, some from the Walls reviling him, saying, *Do you hear, Potter, where will you have Money to pay your Souldiers ?* He gently answered, *I'll tell you, if I can take this City :* And having taken it by storm, he sold the Prisoners, telling them, *If you reproach me again, I will complain to your Masters.* Some Inhabitants of *Ithaca*

complaining of his Mariners, that making a descent on the Island, they had taken away some Cattle. *But your King*, said he, *came to Sicily, and did not only take away Sheep, but put out the Shepherds Eyes, and went his way.*

DION, *Dion*, that deposed *Dionysius* from the Tyranny, when he heard *Callippus*, whom of all his Friends and Attendants he trusted most, conspired against him, refused to question him for it ; saying, *It is better for him to die than to live, who must be wary, not only of his Enemies, but of his Friends too.*

ARCHELAUS. *Archelaus*, when one of his Companions (and none of the best) begged a golden Cup of him, he bid the Boy give it *Euripides* ; and when the Man wondred at him, *You* (said he) *are worthy to ask, but he is worthy to receive it without asking.* A prating Barber asked him how he would be trimmed ? he answered, *In Silence.* When *Euripides* at a Banquet, embraced fair *Agatho*, and kissed him, being of ripe Age : turning to his Friends, *Do not wonder at it* (said he) *for the Beauty of such as are handsom lasts after Autumn.*

Timotheus the Harper, receiving of him a Reward less than his Expectation, twitted him for it, not obscurely ; and once singing the short Verse of the Chorus, *You commend Earth-born Silver*, directed it to him : And *Archelaus* answered him again singing, *But you beg it.* When one sprinkled Water upon him, and his Friends aggravated the Crime, *You are mistaken*, said he, *he did not sprinkle me, but some other Person whom he took me to be.*

PHILIP. *Theophrastus* mentions *Philip* the Father of *Alexander* to have been, not only greater in his Port and Success, but also freer from *Luxury* than other Kings of his Time. He said the *Athenians* were happy, if they could find every Year ten fit to be Chosen Generals, since in many Years, he could find but one fit to be a General, and that was *Parmenio*. When he had News brought

brought him of divers and eminent Successes in one Day, O Fortune, said he, *for all these so great Kindnesses, do me some small Mischief.* After he had conquered Greece, some advised him to place Garrisons in the Cities : No, said he, *I had rather be called Merciful a great while, than Lord a little while.* His Friends advised him to Banish a Railer his Court : *I will not do it,* said he, *lest he should go about and rail in many Places.* Smicythus accused Nicanor for one that commonly spoke evil of King Philip ; and his Friends advised him to send for him, and punish him : *Truly* (said he) *Nicanor is not the worst of the Macedonians ; we ought therefore to consider, whether we have given him any Cause or no.* When he understood therefore that Nicanor being slighted by the King, was much afflicted with Poverty ; he ordered a Boon should be given him : And when Smicythus reported, that Nicanor was continually abounding in the King's Praises ; *You see then* (said he) *that whether we will be well or ill spoken of, is in our own Power.* He said, *He was beholden to the Athenian Orators, who, by reproaching him, made him better, both in Speech and Behaviour : for I will endeavour both by my Words and Actions, to prove them Lyars.* Such Athenians as he took Prisoners in the fight at Cheronea, he dismissed without Ransom : When they also demanded their Garments and Quilts, and on that account accused the Macedonians : Philip laughed, and said, *Do ye not think these Athenians conceit we beat them at Cockal ?* In a Fight he brake his Collarbone, and the Chyrurgeon that had him in Cure, requested him daily for his Reward : *Take what you will,* said he, *for you have the Key.* The Collar bone in Greek being called a Key. There were two Brothers called Both and Either ; perceiving Either was a good understanding busie Fellow, and Both a silly Fellow, and good for little ; he said, *Either is Both, and Both is Neither.* To some that advised him to deal severely with the Athenians, *You talk* (said he) *absurdly, who perswade a Man that suffers*

all things for the sake of Glory, to over-throw the Theatre of
 Glory. Being Arbitrator betwixt two wicked
 Banish'd Persons, he commanded one to Fly out of
 Macedonia, and the other to follow him.
 Being about to pitch his Camp in a likely Place, and
 hearing there was no Hay to be had for the Cattle : *What*
a Life (said he) is ours, since we must live according to the
Convenience of Asses ! Designing to take a strong Fort,
 which the Scouts told him was exceeding dif-
 ficult and Impregnable : He asked, *Whether*
it was so difficult, that an Ass could not come at
it laden with Gold ? The Attendants of *Lasthenes* the
Olynthian, being aggrieved, and complained that some
 of *Philips* Retinue called them Traytors : These *Macedo-*
nians, said he, *are a rude and clownish People, that call a*
Spade a Spade. He exhorted his Son to behave himself
 courteously toward the *Macedonians*, having an Advantage
 of establishing his Power beyond other Princes, by having
 leave to be Popular during the Reign of another. He
 advised him also to make Friends of Men of Interest
 in the Cities, both good and bad, that afterwards he
 might make use of these, and suppress those. To *Philo*
 the *Theban*, who had been his Host; and given him En-
 tertainment while he remained an Hostage at *Thebes*, and
 afterwards refused to accept any Present from him, *Do*
not, said he, *take from me the Title of Invincible, by*
making me inferior to you in Kindness and Bounty. Having
 taken many Prisoners, he sold them, sitting in an un-
 comely Posture, with his Coat gathered up ; one of the
 Captives to be sold, cryed out, *Spare me, Philip, for I*
am one of your Fathers, and your Friend. When *Philip* ask'd
 him, *Pruthee* how, or from whence ? *Let me come nearer,*
 said he, *and I'll tell you ;* when he was come up to him,
Let down said he, *your Upper Coat a little lower, for you sit*
undecently : Whereupon, Let him go (said Philip) in truth
he wiseth me well, and is my Friend, though I did not know
 him,

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 him. Being invited to Supper, he carried many he took up by the way along with him; and perceiving his Host troubled (for his Provision was not sufficient) he sent to each of his Friends, and bid them reserve a place for the Cake: They believing and expecting it, eat little, and so the Supper was enough for all. It appeared he grieved much at the Death of *Hipparchus* the *Eubean*: When some Body said, *It was time for him to die: For himself, said he, but he died too soon for me; preventing me by his Death, from returning him the Kindness his Friendship deserved.* Hearing that *Alexander* blamed him for having Children by several Women: Therefore, saith he to him, *since you have many Rivals with you for the Kingdom, be just and honourable, that you may not receive the Kingdom as my Gift, but by your own Merit.* He charged him to be observant to *Aristotle*, and study Philosophy, *That you may not, said he, do many things, and then repent of them, as I have done.* He made one of *Antipaters* Recommendation, a Judge; and perceiving afterwards, that his Hair and Beard were coloured, he removed him, saying, *I could not think one that was Faithless in his Hair, could be trusty in his Deeds.* As he sat Judge in the Cause of one *Machæus*, he fell asleep, and for want of minding his Arguments, gave Judgment against him: And when he cryed out, *I Appeal* (being enraged) *To whom* (said he) *wilt thou Appeal?* said *Machæus*, *To you your self, O King, when you are awake to hear me with attention:* Then *Philip* rousing, and coming to himself, and perceiving *Machæus* was Injured, he did not reverse the Sentence, but paid the Fine himself. When *Harpolus*, in behalf of *Crates* his Kinsman and intimate Friend, condemned in an Injurious Suit, requested him to pay the Fine, and to cause the Action to be withdrawn, that his Friend might not be Reproached: *It is better* (said he) *himself should be Reproached upon his own Account, than we for him.* His Friends being enraged, because

the *Peloponnesians*, to whom he had shewn Favour, hissed at him in the *Olympic Games*; *What then, said he, would they have done, if we had abused them?* Awaking, *Was a-* after he had overslept himself in the Army; *wake.* *I slept* (said he) *securely, for Antipater watched.* Another time, being asleep in the Day time, while the *Grecians*, fretting with Impatience, thronged at the Gates: *Do not wonder* (said *Parmenio* to them) *if Philip be now asleep, for while you slept he was awake.* When he corrected a Musician, and discoursed him concerning Notes and Instruments; the Musician replied, *Far be that Dishonour from your Majesty, tho you should understand these things better than I do.* While he was at variance with his Wife *Olympia*, and his Son *Demaratas* the *Corinthian* came to him, and he asked him how the *Grecians* held together? said *Demaratus*, *You had need to enquire how the Grecians agree, that agree so well with your nearest Relations.* Whereupon he let fall his Anger, and was reconciled to them. A poor old Woman petitioned and dunn'd him often to hear her Cause; and he answered, *I am not at leisure*: the old Woman bawl'd out, *Do not Reign then.* He admired the Speech, and immediately heard her and others.

ALEXANDER. While *Alexander* was a Boy, *Philip* had great Success in his Affairs, at which he did not rejoyce, but told the Children that were brought up with him, *My Father will leave me nothing to do.* The Children answered, *Your Father gets all this for you.* But *what good* (saith he) *will it do me, if I possess much, and do nothing?* Being nimble and light-footed, his Father encouraged him to run in the *Olympick Race*: *Yes* (said he) *if there be any Kings there to run with me.* A *Wench* being brought to lie with him late in the Evening, he asked, *Why she tarried so long?* She answered, *I staid until my Husband was a bed*: and he sharply reprov'd his Pages, because through their Carelesness, he had almost committed

committed Adultery. As he was sacrificing to the Gods liberally, and often offered Frankincense; Leonides his School-master standing by, said, O Son! *thus generously will you sacrifice, when you have conquered the Country that bears Frankincense.* And when he had conquered it, he sent him this Letter, *I have sent you an hundred Talents of Frankincense and Cassia, that hereafter you may not be niggardly towards the Gods, when you understand I have conquered the Country in which Perfumes grow.* The Night before he fought at the River Granicus, he exhorted the Macedonians to Sup plentifully, and to bring out all they had, as those that were to Sup the next day at the Charge of their Enemies. Perillus, one of his Friends, begged of him Portions for his Daughters; and he ordered him to receive fifty Talents; and when he said, *Ten were enough: For you (said he) to receive, but they are not enough for me to give.* He commanded his Steward to give Anaxarchus the Philosopher, as much as he should ask for: *He asketh,* said the Steward, *for an hundred Talents: He doth well (said he) as knowing he hath a Friend that both can and will bestow so much on him.* Seeing at Miletum many Statues of Wrestlers that had overcome in the Olympick and Pythian Games; *And where (said he) were these lusty Fellows, when the Barbarians Assaulted your City?* When Adas Queen of Caria was ambitious often to send him Sauces and Sweet-Meats delicately prepared by the best Cooks and Artists: He said, *I have better Confectioners of my own; viz. my Night-travelling for my Dinner, and my Spare Dinner for my Supper.* All things being prepared for the Fight, his Captains asked him, Whether he had any thing else to command them? *Nothing,* said he, *but that the Macedonians should shave their Beards: Parmenio wondering at it, Do you not know, said he, there is no better Hold in a Fight than the Beard?* When Darius offered him ten thousand Talents, and to divide Asia equally with him; *I would accept it (said Parmenio) were I Alexander:*

ander : And so truly would I (said Alexander) if I were Parmenio. But he answered Darius, That the Earth could not bear two ~~Stas~~ *Stas*, nor Asia two Kings. Suffice. Ha- When he was going to Fight for the ~~ward all.~~ *World at Arbelia*, against ten hundred thousand Enemies set in array against him, some of his Friends came to him, and told him the Discourse of the Souldiers in their Tents, concluding, That nothing of the Spoils should be brought into the Treasury, but they would have all themselves. You tell me good News, said he, for I hear the Discourse of Men that intend to Fight, and not to run away. Several also of his Commanders came to him. and said, O King ! be of good Courage, and fear not the Multitude of your Enemies, for they will not be able to endure the very Stink Set in Array. of our Sweat. The Army being Marshal- led, he saw a Souldier fitting his Thong to his Javelin, and disbanded him as a useless Fellow, who was fitting his Weapons when he should use them. As he was reading a Letter from his Mother, containing Secrets and Accusations of Antipater, Hephestion also (as he was wont) reading along with him, he let him alone ; but having read it over, took his Ring off his Finger, and laid the Seal of it upon his Mouth. Being saluted the Son of Jupiter in the Temple of Ammon, by the Chief Priest : 'Tis no wonder, said Adopts. he, for Jupiter is by Nature the Father of all, but calls the best Men his Sons. When he was wounded with an Arrow in the Ankle, and many ran to him, that were wont to call him a God ; smiling, This is Blood (said he) as you see, and not as Homer saith, Such Humour as distils from blessed Gods. To some that commended the Frugallity of Antipater, whose Diet was sober, and without Luxury : Outwardly (said he) Antipater wears white Cloaths, but within he is all Purple. In a cold Winter Day, one of his Friends invited him to a Banquet, and there being a little Fire on a small Hearth, he

he bid him fetch either Wood or Frankincense. *Antipatridas* brought a beautiful singing Woman to Supper with him; with whose Visage *Alexander* being taken, asked *Antipatridas*, Whether she was his Mifs or no? and when he confessed she was: *O Villian* (said he) *turn her immediately out from the Banquet.* Again, when *Cassander* forced a Kiss from *Pytho*, a Boy beloved by *Eujus* the Piper, and perceiving *Eujus* was concerned at it, he was extremely enraged at *Cassander*, and with a loud Voice, *It seems* (said he) *no Body must be loved for you.* When he sent such of the *Macedonians* as were sick and maimed to the Sea, they shewed him one that was in health, and yet subscribed his Name among the Sick, being brought into the presence, and examined, he confessed he used that Pretence for the Love of *Telefippa*, who was going to Sea; *Alexander* asked, Who, and of what Condition this *Telefippa* was? and hearing she was a Free-woman; *Therefore*, said he, *my Antigones, let us perswade her to stay with us, for to force a Free-woman is not my Custom.* Of the Mercenary *Grecians* that fought against him, he took many Prisoners. He commanded the *Athenians* should be kept in Chains, because they served for Wages, when they were allowed a publick Maintenance: And the *Theffalonians*, because when they had a fruitful Country, they did not Till it: but he set the *Thebans* free, saying, *To them only he had left neither City nor Country.* He took Captive an excellent *Indian* Archer, that said, *He could shoot an Arrow through a Ring:* and commanded him to shew his Skill, which the Man refusing to do, he commanded him in a Rage to be put to Death. The Man told them that led him to Execution, *That not having practised for many days, he was afraid he should have missed.* Which *Alexander* hearing, wondred at him, and dismissed him with Rewards; because he chose rather to die, than shew himself unworthy of his Reputation. *Taxiles*, one of the *Indian* Kings, met *Alexander*, and advised him not to make War, nor fight with

with him, but if he were a meaner Person than himself, to receive Kindness from him, or if he were a better Man, to shew Kindness to him : He answered, *That was the very thing they must fight for , who should exceed the other in Bounty.* When he heard the Rock called *Fornas* in *India*, was by its Scituation impregnable, but the Commander of it was a Coward : Then, said he, *the Place is easie to be taken.* Another commanding a Rock thought to be invincible, surrendred himself and the Rock to *Alexander*, who committed the said Rock, and the adjacent Country to his Government ; saying, *I Valiant. take this for a wise Man, who chose rather to commit himself to a good Man , than to a strong Place.* When the Rock was taken, his Friends said, it exceeded the Deeds of *Hercules* ; But I, said he, *do not think my actions and Conduct are to be compared with one Word of Hercules.* He fined some of his Favorites. Friends, whom he caught playing at Dice in earnest. Of his chief and most powerful Friends, he seemed most to respect *Craterus*, and to love *Ephestion* : *Craterus*, said he, *is the Friend of the King ; but Ephestion is the Friend of Alexander.* He sent fifty Talents to *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, who would not receive them ; saying, *He was not in Want* : And he asked, whether *Xenocrates* had no Friend neither ; For, said he, *the Treasure of Darius is not sufficient for me to bestow among my Friends.* He demanded of *Porus*, after the Fight, how he should treat him ? *Royally*, said he, *like a King.* And being again asked, What farther he had to request ? *All things*, said he, *are in that Word Royally* : Admiring his Wisdom and Valour , he gave him a greater Government than he had before. Being told a certain Person reviled him : *To do Evil*, said he, *and to be evil spoken of, is Kingly.* As he was dying, looking upon his Friends, *I see*, said he, *my Funeral Turnement will be great.* When he was dead, *Demades* the Rhetorician , likened the *Macedonian*

donian Army without a General, to Polyphemus the Cyclops when his Eye was put out.

P T O L O M Y. *Protony* the Son of *Lagus* frequently supped with his Friends, and lay at their Houses; and if at any time he invited them to Supper, he made use of their Furniture, sending for Vessels, Carpets and Tables; for he himself had only things that were of constant use about him; saying, *It was more becoming a King to make others rich, than to be rich himself.*

A N T I G O N U S. *Antigonus* exacted Money severely; when one told him, *Alexander* did not do so: *It may be so,* said he, *Alexander reaped Asia, and I do but glean after him.* Seeing some Souldiers playing at Ball in Head-pieces and Breast-plates, he was pleased, and sent for their Officers, intending to commend them; but when he heard they were drinking, he bestowed their Commands on the Souldiers. When all Men wondred, that in his old Age, his Government was mild and easie: *Formerly,* said he, *I sought for Power, but now for Glory and Good Will.* To *Philip* his Son, asking him in the Presence of many, When the Army would march? *What,* said he, *are you afraid that you only should not hear the Trumpet?* The same young Man being desirous to Quarter at a Widows House that had three handsome Daughters, called the Quarter-Master to him; *Prithee,* said he, *help my Son out of these Streights.* Recovering out of a slight Disease, *No harm,* said he, *this Distemper puts us in mind, not to aim at great things, since we are Mortal.* *Hermodotus* in his Poems, called him Son of the Sun: *He that attends my Close-stool,* said he, *sings me no such Song.* When one said, *All things in Kings are Just and Honourable.* Indeed, said he, for Barbarian Kings; but for us, only honourable things are Honourable, and only just things are Just. *Marsyas* his Brother had a Cause depending, and requested him it might be examined at his House: *Nay,* said he, *it shall be heard in the Judgment-Hall, that all may hear*
whether

whether we do exact Justice or no. In the *Winter*, being forced to pitch his Camp in a place where Necessaries were scarce, some of his Souldiers reproached

Staff. him, not knowing he was near; opening the Tent with his Cane, *Wo be to you*, said

he, *unless you get you farther off when you revile me.* *Aristodimus*, one of his Friends, supposed to be a Cooks Son, advised him to moderate his Gifts and Ex-

Bib. pences: *Thy Words*, said he, *Aristodemus*, *smell of the Apron.* The *Athenians*, out of re-

spect to him, made one of his Servants Free of their City: *And I would not*, said he, *have any Athenian whip by my Command.* A Youth, Scholar to *Anaximenes* the

Rhetorician, spoke in his Presence, a prepared and studied Speech; and he asking somewhat he desired to learn, the Youth was silent? *What do you say?* said he, *Is it*

written in your Table-Book? When he heard another Rhetorician say, The Snow-spread Season made the Coun-

try Fodder spent: *Do you think to prate*, said he, *to me, as you do to the Rabble?* *Thrasyllus* the Cynick, begged a Groat of him: *That*, said he, *is too little for a King to give.* *Why*

then (said the other) *give me a Talent:* *And that*, said he, *is too much for a Cynick to receive.* Sending his Son *Demetrius* with Ships and Land-Forces to make Greece Free:

Glory, said he, *from Greece, as from a Watch-Tower, will shine throughout the World.* *Antagoras* the Poet was boil-

ing a Conger, and stirring his Skillet, coming behind him: *Do you think*, said he, *Antago-*

rash, *that Homer boiled Congers, when he wrote the Deeds of Agamemnon?* *Antagoras* replied,

Up and down. *Do you think, O King!* *Agamemnon*, *when*

he did such Exploits, was a peeping in his Army, to see who boil'd Congers? After he had seen in a Dream,

Mithridates mowing a Golden Harvest, he designed to kill him, and acquainted *Demetrius* his Son with his De-

sign, making him swear to conceal it. But *Demetrius* ta-

king

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king *Mithridates* aside, and watching with him by the Sea-side, with the Pick of his Sphear wrote on the Shore, *Fly Mithridates*; which he understanding, fled into *Pontus*, and there reigned until his Death.

DEMETRIUS. *Demetrius* besieging *Rhodes*, in a Place of the Suburbs, took the Picture of *Jalysus*, made by *Protopenes* the Limner: The *Rhodians* sent an Herald to him, beseeching him not to deface the Picture: *I will sooner* (said he) *deface my Fathers Statues, than such a Picture.* When he made a League with the *Rhodians*, he left behind him an Engine, called, *The City Taker*; that it might be a Memorial of his Magnificence, and of their Courage. When the *Athenians* rebelled, and he took the City, distressed for want of Provision, he called an Assembly, and gave them Corn; and while he made a Speech to them concerning that Affair, he spoke improperly; and when one that sat by, told him, how the Word ought to be spoken: *For this Correction*, said he, *I bestow upon you five thousand Medimna's more.* Corn.

Six hundred quarters.

ANTIGONUS the Second. *Antigonus* the Second, when his Father being a Prisoner, sent one of his Friends to admonish him, that he should not at the Constraint of *Seleucus*, enter into any Obligation to surrender up the Cities to him. He writ to *Seleucus*, That he would give up his whole Kingdom, and himself for an Hostage, that his Father might be set free. Being about to fight by Sea, with the Lieutenants of *Ptolomy*, and the Pilot telling him, the Enemy out-nubred him in Ships: *And how many* (said he) *do you assign for me to fight?* Once he gave ground, his Enemies pressing upon him, denying that he fled; but betook himself (as he said) to an Advantage that lay behind him. To a Youth, Son of a valiant Father, but himself no very great Souldier, petitioning he might receive his Fathers Pay: *Young Man* (said

(said he) *I pay and reward Men for their own, not for their Fathers Valour.* When *Zeno of Citium*, whom Destroy-
ed. he admired beynd all Philosophers, died ;
The Theater (said he) *of my Actions is fallen.*

LYSIMACHUS. *Lysimachus*, when he was overcome by *Dromachetas* in *Thrace*, and constrained by Thirst, surrendred himself and his Army ; when he was a Prisoner, and had drank ; O Gods, said he, *for how small a Satisfaction of a King, have I made my self a Slave ?* To *Philippides* the Comedian, his Friend and Companion ; *What have I*, said he, *that I may impart to you ?* He answered, *What you please, except your Secrets.*

ANTIPATER. *Antipater* hearing *Parmenio* was slain by *Alexander* ; said he, *If Parmenio conspired against Alexander, whom may we trust ? but if he did not, what is to be done ?* Of *Demades* the Rhetorician, now grown old, he said, *As of Sacrifices when finished, so there's nothing left of him but his Belly and Tongue.*

ANTIOCHUS the Third. *Antiochus* the Third, wrote to the Cities, That if he should at any time write for any thing to be done contrary to the Law, they should not obey, but suppose it to be done out of Ignorance. When he saw the Priestess of *Diana*, that she was exceeding Beautiful, he presently romoved from *Ephesus*, least he should be sway'd contrary to his Judgment, to do some wicked Action.

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX. *Antiochus*, surnamed the Hawk, warred with his Brother *Seleucus* for the Kingdom ; after *Seleucus* was overcome by the *Galatians*, and not to be heard of, but supposed to be slain in the Fight, he laid aside his Purple, and went into Mourning. A while after, hearing his Brother was safe, he sacrificed to the Gods for the good News, and caused the Cities under his Dominion to put on Garlands.

EUMENES. *Eumenes* was thought to be slain by a Conspiracy of *Perseus*, that Report being brought to *Per-*
gamus

gamus, *Attalus* his Brother put on the Crown, married his Wife, and took upon him the Kingdom. Hearing afterwards his Brother was alive, and upon the Way, he met him, as he used to do, with his Life-guard, and a Spear in his Hand. *Eumenes* embraced him kindly, and whispered in his Ear.

If a Widdow you'l Marry,

Till the Husbands dead, tarry:

And neither did, nor speak any thing that shewed any farther Suspicion all his Life-time; but when he died, bequeathed to him his Queen and Kingdom. In requital of which, his Brother bred up none of his own Children, although he had many; but when the Son of *Eumenes* was grown up, bestowed the Kingdom on him in his own Life-time.

PYRRHVS *the Epirot.* *Pyrrhus* was asked by his Sons when they were Boys, To whom he would leave the Kingdom? To him of you (saith he) that hath the sharpest Sword. Being asked, whether *Pytho* or *Capitius* was the better Piper? *Polyperches* (saith he) the General. He joynd Battel with the *Romans*, and twice overcame them but with the Loss of many Friends and Captains. If I should overcome the *Romans* (saith he) in another Fight I were undone. Not being able to keep *Sicily*, as he said from them; turning to his Friends, What a fine Wrestling Wring (saith he) do we leave to the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*? His Souldiers called him Eagle: And I may deserve the Title (saith he) while I am born upon the Wings of your Arms. Hearing some young Men had spoken many reproachful Words of him in their Drink, he summoned them all to appear before him next day, when they appeared, he asked the foremost, whether they spake such things of him or no? The young Man answered

swered, Such Words were spoken, O King, and more we had spoken, if we had had more Wine.

ANTIUCHUS. *Antiochus, who twice made an Inroad into Parthia a Hunting, eager in the Pursuit, lost his Friends and Servants, and went into a Cottage of poor People, who did not know him. As they were at Supper, he threw out Discourse concerning the King; they said for the most part he was a good Prince, but overlooked many things he left to the Management of debauched Courtiers; and out of love of Hunting, often neglected his necessary Affairs; and there they stopped. At break of day the Guard arrived at the Cottage, and when the Crown and Purple Robes were brought, it appeared who he was. But from the day, (said he) I first entertained you, I never heard truth concerning my self till yesterday. When he besieged Jerusalem, the Jews, in respect of their great Festival, begged of him seven days Truce, which he not only granted, but preparing Oxen with gilded Horns, with a great quantity of Incense and Perfumes, he went before them to the very Gates, and having delivered them as a Sacrifice to their Priests, he returned back to his Army. The Jews wondred at him, and as soon as their Festival was finished, surrendered themselves to him.*

THEMISTOCLES. *Themistocles in his Youth was much given to Wine and Women: But after Miltiades, the General, overcame the Persian at Marathon, Themistocles utterly forsook his former Disorders; and to such as wondred at the Change, he said, The Trophy of Miltiades will neither suffer me to sleep, nor to be idle. Being asked, Whether he had rather be Achilles or Homer? And pray (said he) which had you rather be, a Conqueror in the Olympic Games, or the Crier that proclaims who are Conquerors? When Xerxes with that great Navy made a Descent upon Greece; he fearing, if Epycides a popular, but a covetous, corrupt and cowardly Person, were made*

made General, the City might be lost, bribed him with a Sum of Money to desist from that Pretence. *Adimantus* was afraid to hazard a Sea-fight; whereunto *Themistocles* perswaded and encouraged the *Grecians*: O *Themistocles* (said he) those that start before their time in the *Olympick Games*, are always scourged. Ay, but *Adimantus* (said the other) they that are left behind are not crowned. *Euribiades* lifted up his Cane at him, as if he would strike him: Strike (said he) but then hear me. When he would not perswade *Euribiades* to fight in the Straights of the Sea, he sent privately to *Xerxes*, advising him, he need not fear the *Grecians*, for they were running away. *Xerxes* upon this perswasion, fighting in a place advantageous for the *Grecians*, was worsted; and then he sends him another Message, and bids him fly with all speed over the *Helespont*; for the *Grecians* designed to break down his Bridge, that under pretence of saving him, he might secure the *Grecians*. *Seriphius* told him, he was honoured not upon his own account, but the Cities where he lived. You say true (said he) but if I had been *Seriphius*, I had not been Honourable; nor you, if you had been an *Athenian*. To *Antiphanes*, a beautiful Person that avoided and despised *Themistocles*, who formerly loved him; but came to him, and flattered him, when he was in great Power and Esteem: Hark you Lad, said he, though late, yet both of us are wise at last. To *Simonides*, desiring him to give an unjust Sentence: You would not be a good Poet, said he, if your Verses have wrong quantity; if you sing out of tune: Nor I a good Governour, if I give Judgment contrary to Law. When his Son was a little saucy towards his Mother, he said, That Boy had more Power than all the *Grecians*, for the *Athenians* Governed Greece, he the *Athenians*, his Wife him, and his Son his Wife. He preferred an honest Man that wooed his Daughter, before a rich Man: I had rather (said he) have a Man that wants Money, than Money that wants a Man. Having a Farm to sell, he bid the Crier

tell them also, that it had a good Neighbour. When the Athenians reviled him. *Why do you suffer* (said he) *the same Persons so often to befriend you? and compared himself to a row of plain Trees, under which, in a Storm, Passengers run for shelter, but in fair Weather, they pluck the Leaves off and abuse them.* Scoffing at the Eretrians (said he) *like the Sword fish, they had a Sword indeed, but no Heart.* Being banished first out of Athens, and afterwards out of Greece, he betook himself to the King of Persia, who bid him speak his Mind: *Speech*, said he, *is like to Tapestry; and like it, when it was spread, shewed its Figures, but when it was foulded up, hid, and spoiled them:* And therefore he requested time until he might learn the Persian Tongue, and could explain himself without an Interpreter. Having there received great Presents, and being enriched of a sudden: *O Lads*, said he to his Sons, *we had been undone if we had not been undone.*

MYRONIDES. Myronides Summoned the Athenians to fight against the Boeotians; when the time was almost come, and the Captains told him they were not near all come: *They are come*, said he, *all that intend to fight;* and marching while their spirits were up, he overcame his Enemies.

ARISTIDES. Aristides always managed his Offices himself, and avoided Partnerships, because Power gotten by the assistance of Friends, was an Encouragement to the Unjust. When the Athenians were fully bent to banish him by an Ostracism, an illiterate Country Fellow came to him with his Shell, and asked him to write in it the Name of Aristides: *Friend*, said he, *do you know Aristides?* *Not I*, said the Fellow, *but I do not like his Sirname of Just:* he said no more, but wrote his name in the Shell, and gave it him. He was at variance with Themistocles, who was sent in an Embassy with him: *Are you content*, said he, *Themistocles,*

cles, to leave our Enmity at the Borders, and, if you please, we will take it up again at our return? He Levied an Assessment upon Greece, and returned poorer by so much as he spent in the Journey.

Aeschylus wrote these Verses against *Amphiaraus*.

He will not seem but be the best :

Reaps the deep furrows of his Breast,

Whence wholesome cares spring, for our Rest.

And when they were rehearsed, all turned their Eyes upon *Aristides*.

PERICLES. Entring on his Command as General, while he was putting on his War-cloak, used thus to bespeak himself: Remember Pericles, You govern Freemen, Grecians, Athenians. He advised the Athenians to demolish *Aegina*, as a dangerous Eye-sore to the *Peiræan* * Haven. To a Friend that wanted a Knight of the Post to swear for him: *I am a Friend*, said he, *but to the very Altar*. When he lay on his Death-Bed, he blessed himself, that no Athenian ever went into Mourning upon his account.

ALCIBIADES. *Alcibiades*, while he was a Boy, wrestling in a Ring, seeing he could not break his Adversaries Hold, bit him by the Hand; who cried out, *You bite like a Woman*. Not so, said he, *but like a Lion*. He had a very handsome Dog, that cost him an hundred and sixteen Pounds, and he cut off his Tail, *That*, said he, *the Athenians may have this to say of me, and may concern themselves no farther with me*. Coming into a School, he called for *Homer's Iliad's*; and when the Master told him he had none of *Homer's Works*, he gave him a Box on the Ear, and went his way. He came to *Pericles's Gate*, and being told, he was busie a preparing his Accounts to be given to the People of *Athens*: *Had he not better*, said he, *contrive how he might give no account at all?* Being

Summoned by the Athenians out of Sicily to plead for his Life, he absconded; saying, *That Criminal was a Fool, who studied a Defence when he might fly for it.* But, said he, *will you not trust Your Country with Your Cause?* No, said one, *nor my Mother neither, lest she mistake, and cast a black Pebble instead of a white one.* When he heard Death was decreed to him and his Associates: *Let us convince them,* said he, *that we are alive.* And passing over to Lacedæmon, he stirred up the Decilian War against the Athenians.

LAMACHUS. Lamachus chid a Captain for a Fault; and when he had said he would do so no more; Sir, said he, *in War there is no room for a second Miscarriage.*

IPHICRATES. Iphicrates was disesteemed, because he was thought to be a Shoomaker's Son: the Exploit that first brought him into Repute, was this: When he was wounded himself, he caught up one of the Enemies and carried him alive, and in his Armor, to his own Ship. He once pitched his Camp in a Country belonging to his Allies and Confederates; and yet he fortified it exactly with a Trench and Bulwark: said one to him, *What are we afraid of?* Of all Speeches, said he, *none is so dishonourable for a General, as, I did not think.* As he Marched his Army to fight with Barbarians: *I am afraid,* said he, *they do not know Iphicrates, for his very Name used to strike Terror into other Enemies.* Being accused of a Capital Crime, he said to the Informer, *O Fellow! what art thou doing, who when War is at hand, dost advise the City to consult concerning me, and not with me?* To Harmodius, descended from the Ancient Harmodius, when he reviled him for his mean Birth: *My Nobility,* said he, *begins in me, but Yours ends in You.* A Rhetorician asked him in an Assembly, *Who he was, that he took so much upon him?* *Or Horse-man, or Foot-man, or Archer, or Shield-bearer?* *Neither of them,* said he, *but one that Knave.* *Who understands how to command all those.*

TIMOTHEUS. *Timotheus was reputed a successful General, and some that envied him, painted Cities falling under his Net of their own accord. While he was asleep, said Timotheus, If I take such Cities when I am asleep, what do they think I shall do when I am awake? A confident Commander shewed the Athenians a Wound he had received: But I, said he, when I was your General in Samos, was ashamed that a Dart from an Engine fell near me. The Orators set up Chares as one they thought fit to be General of the Athenians: Not a General, said Timotheus, he may serve to carry the Generals Baggage.*

CHABRIAS. *Chabrias said, They were the best Commanders, who best understood the Affairs of their Enemies. He fled from an Action of Treason, with Iphicrates, who blamed him for exposing himself to Danger, by going to the place of Exercise, and Dining at his usual Hour: If the Athenians, said he, deal severely with us, let them execute the sniveling, and Gut-founder'd; I'll die well liquored, with my Dinner in my Belly. He was wont to say, An Army of Stags, with a Lion for their Commander, was more formidable than an Army led by a Stag.*

HEGESIPPUS. *When Hegesippus, surnamed *Crobylus, instigated the Athenians *Curlpate. against Philip; one of the Assembly cried out, You would not persuade us to a War? Yes indeed, would I, said he, and to Mourning Cloaths, and to publick Funerals, and to Funeral-Speeches; if we intend to live free, and not submit to the Pleasure of the Macedonians.*

PYTHEAS. *Pytheas, when he was a young Man, stood forth to oppose the Decrees made concerning Alexander: one said, Have you young Man, the Confidence to speak in such weighty Affairs? And why not, said he, Alexander, whom you voted a God, is younger than I am.*

PHOCION. *Phocion the Athenian was never seen to laugh or cry. In an Assembly, one told him, You*

seem to be thoughtful, Phocion : You guess right, said he, for I am contriving how to contract what I have to say to the People of Athens. The Oracle told the Athenians, There was one Man in the City of a contrary Judgment to all the rest ; and the Athenians in a Hubbub ordered search to be made, who this should be : I, said Phocion, am the Man ; I only am pleased with nothing the Common People say or do. Once, when he delivered his Opinion, which pleased the People ; and when he perceived it was entertained by a General Consent, turning to his Friend ; I wish I have not unawares, said he, spoken some mischievous thing or other. The Athenians gathered a Benevolence for a certain Sacrifice ; and when others contributed to it, he being often spoken to ; I should be ashamed, said he, to give to you, and not to pay to this Man, pointing to an Usurer.

Domosthenes the Orator told him, If the Athenians should be mad, they would kill you. Like enough, said he, Me, if they were Mad, but you if they were Wise. Aristogeiton the Informer, condemned and ready to be executed in Prison, intreated that Phocion would come to him ; and when his Friends would not suffer him to go to so vile a Person : And where, said he, would you discourse Aristogeiton more pleasantly ? The Athenians were offended with the Byzantines, for refusing to receive Chares into their City, who was sent with Forces to assist them against Philip : said Phocion, You

ought not to be displeased with the Difference of your Confederates, but with your Commanders that are not to be trusted : Whereupon he was chosen General, and being entrusted by the Byzantines, he forced Philip to return without his Errand. King Alexander sent him a Present of an hundred Talents ; and he asked those that brought it, What it should mean, that of all the Athenians, Alexander, should be thus kind to him ? They answered, Because he esteemed him only to be a worthy and upright Person. Pray Allow, therefore, said he, let him suffer me to be, as well

as to seem so. Alexander sent to them for some Ships and the People called for Phocion by Name, bid him speak his Opinion: He stood up and told them; *I advise you either to conquer them, your selves, or else to side with the Conquerour.*

An uncertain Rumour happened, that Alexander was dead; immediately the Orators leaped into the Pulpit, and advised them to make War without delay; but Phocion intreated them to tarry awhile, and know the certainty: For (said he) *if he be dead to day, he will be dead to morrow, and so forwards.* Leosthenes hurried the City into a War, with fond Hopes conceited at the Name of Liberty and Command; whose Speeches Phocion compared to Cypress Trees: *They are tall, said he, and comely, but bear no Fruit.* However, the first Attempts were successful, and when the City was sacrificing for the good News, he was asked, Whether he liked Affairs as they were managed? *I would, said he, have these things done, but other things advised.* When the Macedonians invaded Attica, and plundered the Sea-coasts, he drew out the Youth, when many came to him, and generally perswaded by all means to possess himself of such an assent, and thereon to marshall his Army: O Hercules! (said he) *how many Commanders do I see, and how few Souldiers?* Yet he fought and overcame, and slew Nicion, the Commander of the Macedonians. But in a short time the Athenians were overcome, admitted a Garrison sent by Antipater. Menillus the Governor of that Garrison, offered Money to Phocion; who enraged, *Nor is this Man, said he, better then Alexander, and what I refused then, I can with less Honour receive now.* Antipater said, *Of the two Friends he had at Athens, he could never perswade Phocion to accept a Present; nor could he ever satisfie Damedes with Presents.* When Antipater requested him to do some indirect thing or other; Antipater said, *you cannot have Phocion for your Friend and Flatterer too.* After the

the Death of *Antipater*, Democracy was established in Athens, and the Assembly decreed the Death

Party. of *Phocion* and his Friends. The rest were led weeping to Execution ; but as *Phocion* passed silently, one of his Enemies met him, and spit in his Face ; who turning himself to the Magistrates ; *Will nobody*, said he, *restrain this Insolent Fellow* ? One of those that were to suffer with him, lamented and took on ; *Why Euippus*, said he, *are you not pleased that you die with Phocion* ?

When the Cup of Poyson or Hemlock was brought to him, being asked, whether he had any thing to say to his Son : *I command you*, said he, *and entreat you, not to think of any Revenge upon the Athenians.*

PISISTRATUS. *Pisistratus*, Tyrant of Athens, when some of his Party revolted from him, and The Castle. possessed themselves of *Phyle*, he came to them, bearing his Furniture on his Back : Baggage.

They asked him, what he meant by it ? *Either*, said he, *to persuade you to return with me, or if I cannot persuade you, to tarry with you, and therefore I come prepared accordingly.* An Accusation was brought to him against his Mother, that she was in love with, and used secret Familiarity with a young Man ; who out of fear, for the most part refused her : This young Man he invites to Supper, and as they were at Supper, asked him, *How he liked his Entertainment* ? who answered, *Very well.* Thus, said he, *you shall be treated daily, if you please my Mother.* *Thrasylbulus* was in love with his Daughter, and as he met her, kissed her ; whereupon his Wife would have incensed him against *Thrasylbulus*. If, said he, *we* *bate those that love us, what shall we do to them that hate us* ? and gave the Maid in Marriage to *Thrasylbulus*. Some lascivious drunken Persons, by chance met his Wife, and used unseemly Speech and Behaviour to her ; but the

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next day they begged his Pardon with Tears.

As for you, said he, *learn to be Sober for the Endeavor.* future; but as for my Wife, yesterday she was not abroad at all. He designed to marry another Wife, and his Children asked him? Whether he could blame them for any thing? *By no means,* said he, *but I commend you,* and desire to have more such Children as you are.

DEMETRIUS PHALAREUS. *Demetrius Phalareus* perswaded King *Ptolemy* to get and study such Books as treated of Government and Conduct; those things are written in Books, which the Friends of Kings dare not advise.

LYCURGUS. *Lycurgus the Lacedemonian* brought long Hair into fashion among his Country-men, saying, *It rendred those that were handsom, more beautiful, and those which were deformed terrible.* To one that advised him to set up a Democracy in *Sparta*. Pray, said he, *do you first set up a Democracy in your own House.* He ordained that Houses should be built with Saws and Axes only, as thinking they would be ashamed to bring Plate, Tapestry and costly Tables into such pitiful Houses. He forbade them to contend at Whirlebates, and the All-strifes, that they might not accustom themselves to be conquered, no, not so much as in jest. He forbade them also to war often against the same People, least they should make them the more warlike. Accordingly, many Years after, when *Agésilas* was wounded, *Antalcidas* told him, The *Thebans* had rewarded him worthily, for teaching and accustoming them to War, whether they would or no.

CHARILLUS. King *Charillus* being asked, why *Lycurgus* made so few Laws? answered, *They who use few Words, do not need many Laws.* To one that asked him, why the *Spartans* wore long Hair? Because, said he, of all Ornaments that is the cheapest.

TELECLUS. King Teleclus, when his Brother inveighed against the Citizens for not giving him that Respect as they did to the King : *No wonder, said he, you do not know how to bear Injury.*

THEOPOMPUS. Theopompus to one that shewed him the Walls of a City, and asked him, If they were not high and beautiful ? Answered, *Here is no need of Women.*

ARCHIDAMUS. Archidamus, in the Peloponnesian War, when his Allies requested him to appoint them their quota of Tributes ; *War (said he) doth not feed upon Establishments.*

BRASIDAS. Brasidas, among his dryed Figs, caught a Mouse, which bit him, and he let it go : whereupon, turning to the Company, *Nothing (said he) is so small, which may not save it self, if it have the Valour to defend it self against its Aggressors.* In a Fight he was shot through his Shield, and plucking the Spear out of his Wound, with the same he slew his Adversary : When he was asked, How he came to be wounded ? *My Shield, said he, betrayed me.* It was his Fortune to be slain in Battle, as he endeavoured the Liberty of the Grecians that were in Thrace, who sent an Embassy to Lacedæmon, which made a Visit to his Mother, who first asked them, Whether Brasidas died Honourably ? When the Thracians praised him, and affirm'd, That there would never be such another Man. *My Friends, said she, You are mistaken, Brasidas indeed was a valiant Man, but Lacedæmon hath many as Valiant Men as he.*

AGIS. King Agis said, *The Lacedæmonians were not wont to ask how many, but where the Enemy was.* At Mantinea he was advised not to fight the Enemy that exceeded him in Number : *'Tis necessary, said he, for him to fight with many, who would Rule over many.*

Eleins. The Elei were commended for managing the Olympic Games honourably. *What wonder (said*

(said he) *do they do, if in one day in four Years they do Justice?* When the same Persons enlarged in their Commendation: *What Wonder is it* (said he) *if in an honourable Employment they use Justice honourably?* To a Lewd Person that often asked, Who was the best Man among the Spartans? he answered, *He that is most unlike you.* When another asked, what was the Number of the Lacedemonians? *Sufficient* (said he) *to defend themselves from wicked Men.* To another that asked him the same Question: *If you should see them fight* (said he) *you would think them to be many.*

LYSANDER. Dionysius the Tyrant, presented his Daughters with rich Garments, which Lysander refused to accept, saying, *He feared they would shew more deformed in them.* To such as blamed him for managing much of his Affairs by Stratagems, which was unworthy of Hercules: he answered, *Where the Lions, from whom he descended, will not reach, it must be pieced with the Foxes Skin.* When the Citizens of Ergos seemed to make out a better Title than the Lacedemonians, to a Country that was in dispute between them; drawing his Sword, *He that is Master of this* (said he) *can best dispute about Bounds of Countries.* When the Lacedemonians delay'd to assault the Walls of Corinth, and he saw a Scale. *Hare leap out of the Trench;* Do you fear, said he, *such Enemies as these, whose Laziness suffers Hares to sleep on their Walls?* To an Inhabitant of Megara, that in a Parley spoke confidently unto him. *Your Words* (said he) *want the Breeding of the City.*

AGESILAUS. Agesilaus said, *The Inhabitants of Asia were bad Free-men, and good Servants.* When they were wont to call the King of Persia the Great King: *Wherein*, said he, *is he greater than me, if he be not more Just and Wiser than I am?* Being asked, which was better, Valour or Justice? He answered, *We should have no need of Valour, if we were all Just.*

Just. When he discamped suddenly by Night in the Enemies Country, and saw a Lad he loved left behind, by reason of Sickneſs, weeping; *'Tis a hard thing,* ſaid he, *to be pitiful and wiſe at the ſame time.* Menecrates the Phyſician, ſurnamed Jupiter, inſcribed a Letter to him thus; Menecrates Jupiter, to King Ageſilaus, wiſheth Joy; and he returned in Answer, King Ageſilaus to Menecrates, wiſheth his Wits. When the Lacedæmonians overcame the Athenians and their Confederates at Corinth, and he heard the Number of the Enemies that were ſlain: *Alas,* ſaid he, *for Greece! who hath deſtroyed ſo many of her Men, as were enough to have conquered all the Barbarians together.* He had received an Answer from the Oracle of Jupiter in Olympia, which was to his Satisfaction; afterwards the Ephori bid him conſult Apollo in the ſame Caſe, and to Delphos he went, and asked that God, *Whether or no, he were of the ſame Mind with his Father?* He interceded for one of his Friends with Cares of Icaria, and wrote to him thus: *If Nicias have not offended, ſet him free; but if he be guilty, ſet him free for my ſake; by all means ſet him free.* Being exhorted to hear one that imitated the Voice of a Nightingale; *I have often,* ſaid he, *heard Nightingales themſelves.* The Law ordained, that ſuch as run away ſhould be diſgraced. After the

Fight at Leuctra, the Ephori ſeeing the City Empty. void of Men, were willing to diſpence with that Diſgrace, and empowered Ageſilaus to make a Law to that purpoſe; but he ſtanding in the miſt, commanded, That after the next day, the Laws ſhould remain in force as before. He was

Succour. ſent to aſſiſt the King of Egypt, with whom he was beſieged by Enemies that outnumbered them; and when they entrenched their Camp, the King commanded him to go out and fight them: *Since,* ſaid he, *they intend to make themſelves equal to us, I will not hinder them.* When their Trench was almoſt finished,

finished, he drew up his Men in the void Space, and so fighting with equal advantage, overcame them. When he was dying, he charged his Friends, that no Fiction or Counterfeit (so he called Statues) should be made for him: *For if, said he, I have done any honourable Exploit, that is my Monument; but if I have none done, all your Statues will signifie nothing.*

ARCHIDAMUS. When Archidamus the Son of Agelautus, beheld a Dart to be shot from an Engine newly brought out of Sicily, he cryed out, O Hercules! *the Valour of Man is at End.* *Lost.*

AGIS the Younger. Demades said, *The Lacedæmonians Swords were so small, that Fuglers might swallow them. You are in the right (said Agis Junior) and the Lacedæmonians especially enter their Enemies with their Swords.* The Ephori ordered him to deliver his Souldiers to a Traytor: *I will not,* said he, *intrust them with Strangers, who betray-ed his own Men.* *Stadtholder.*

CLEOMENES. To one that promised to give him hardy Cocks, that would die fighting: *Prithee, said he, give me Cocks that will kill fighting.*

PÆDARETUS. Pædaretus, when he was not chosen among the three hundred (which was the highest Office and Honour in the City) went away chearfully and smiling; saying, *He was glad if the City had three hundred better Citizens than himself.*

DAMONIDAS. Damonidas being placed by him that orders the Chorus in the last Rank of it; *Well done, said he, you have found a way how to make this Place also honourable.* *Quire.*

NICOSTRATUS. Archidamus, General of the Argives, enticed Nicostratus, with Promises of a great Sum, and the Marriage of what Lacedæmonian Lady he pleased, except the Kings Daughters, to betray a small Fort. He answered, *That Archidamus was none of the Offspring of Hercules,*

Hercules, for he went about to punish Wicked Men, but Archidamus to corrupt Honest Men.

EUDÆMONIDAS. Eudæmonidas beholding Xenocrates when he was old, in the Academy, reading Philosophy to his Scholars; and being told he was in quest of Vertue, *And when, said he, does he intend to practise it?* Another time, when he heard a Philosopher arguing, that a good Man only is wise: *This is a wonderful Speech,* said he, *but he that saith it, is not surrounded with Trumpets.*

ANTIOCHUS. Antiochus the Ephorus, when he heard Philip had given the Messenians a Country; asked, whether he had granted them, that they should overcome when they fought for that Country?

ANTALCIDAS. To an Athenian that called the Lacedæmonians Unlearned; *Therefore we only* (said Antalcidas) *have learned no Mischief of you.* To another Athenian that

told him, *Indeed we have often worsted you at Ephesus.*

But we never (said he) *worsted you at Eurotas.* When a Sophister was beginning to recite the Praise of Hercules: *And who* (said he) *ever spoke against him?*

EPIMANONDAS. No panick Fear ever surprized the Army of the Thebans, while Epimanondas was their General. He said, *To die in War was the most honourable Death, and that the Bodies of armed Men ought to be exercised, not as Wrestlers, but in a warlike Manner.* Wherefore he hated fat Men, and disbanded one of them, saying, *Three or four Shields would scarce serve to secure his Belly,* that would not suffer him to see his Members. He was so frugal in his Diet, that being invited by a Neighbour to Supper, and finding there Dishes, Oyntments and Junkets in abundance, he departed immediately; saying, *I thought you had sacrificed, and not display'd your Luxury.* When his Cook gave an account to his Colleagues of the Charges for several Days, he was offended only at the quantity

of

of Oyl ; and when his Colleagues wondred at him, *I am not*, said he, *troubled at the Charge, but that so much Oyl should be received into my Body.* When the City kept a Festival, and all gave themselves to Banquets and Drinking, he was met by one of his Acquaintance undorned, and in a thoughtful Posture ; who wondring, and asked him, Why he of all Men, should walk about in that manner ? *That all of you*, said he, *may be Drunk and Rebel securely.* An ill Man, that had committed no great Fault, he refused to discharge at the Request of *Pelopidas* ; when his Mifs intreated for him, he dismissed him, saying, *Whores were fitting to receive such Presents, and not Generals.* The *Lacedæmonians* invaded the *Thebans*, and Oracles were brought to *Thebes* ; some that promised Victory, others that foretold an Overthrow. He ordered those to be placed on the Right-hand of the Judgment-Seat, and those on the Left : *Pulpit.*

When they were placed accordingly, he rose up, and said, *If you will obey your Commanders, and unanimously resist your Enemies, these are your Oracles*, pointing to the better ; *but if you play the Cowards, those*, pointing to the worser. Another time, as he drew nigh to the Enemy, it Thundred, and some that were about him, asked him, what he thought the Gods would signifie by it ? *To astonish the Enemy*, saith he, *who pitches his Camp in a disadvantageous Place, when he was nigh to a better.* Of all the happy and prosperous Events that besel him, he said, in this he took most Satisfaction, That he overcame the *Lacedæmonians* at *Leuctra*, while his Father and Mother, that begot him, were living. Whereas he was wont to appear with his Body anointed, and a chearful Countenance ; the Day after that Fight, he came abroad meanly habited and dejected ; and when his Friends asked him, whether any Misfortune had besel him ? No (said he) *but Yesterday I was pleased more than became a wise Man, and therefore to Day I chastise that im-*

moderate Joy. Perceiving the Spartans concealed their Disasters, and desiring to discover the greatness of their Loss, he gave them leave to take away their Dead, not in general, but to every City a part; whereby it appeared, above a Thousand *Lacedæmonians* Tyrant. were slain. *Jason*, Monarch of *Theffaly*, as their

Confederate was at *Thebes*, and sent Two thousand Pieces of Gold to *Epaminondas*, then in great want; but he refused the Gold, and when he saw *Jason*, *You begin* (said he) *to quarrel with me*: And borrowing Fifty Drachms of a Citizen, with that Conduct Money for his Army, he invaded *Peloponnesus*. Another time, when the *Persian* King sent him Three thousand *Darius's*, he chid *Diomedon* severely, asking him, *Woether he sailed so far to Bribe Epimanondas?* and bid him tell *Consult-* the King, as long as he wished the Prosperity *ed.* of the *Thebans*, *Epimanondas* would be his Friend *gratis*; but when he was otherwise minded, his

Enemy. When the *Argives* were Confederates with the *Thebans*, the *Athenian* Embassadors then in *Arcadia*, complaining of both; and *Callistratus* the Orator, reproached both Cities with *Orestes* and *Oedipus*; *Epaminondas* standing up, *We confess* (said he) *there hath been one amongst us that killed his Father, and among the Argives, one that killed his Mother; but he banished those that did such things, and the Athenians entertained them.* To some *Spartans* that Accused the *Thebans* of many and great Crimes: *These indeed* (said he) *are they that have put an end to your short Dialect.* When the *Athenians* made *Alexander* the *Pheræan* Tyrant, and an Enemy to the *Thebans*, their Ally and Confederate, who promised to furnish them with Flesh at a Farthing a Pound: And we (said *Epaminondas*) will supply them with Wood to that Flesh *gratis*; but if they grow pragmatical, we will *Dissolved.* make bold to reap their Country for them. Being

desirous to keep the *Boeotians*, that were grown

grown rusty by Idleness, always in Arms, when he was chosen their Chief Magistrate, he exhorted them saying, *Yet consider what you do, my Friends, for I am your General, you must be my Souldiers.* He called their Country, which was plain and open, the Stage of War, which they could keep no longer than their Hands were upon their Shields. *Chabrias* near *Corinth*, having slain a few *Thebans*, that engaged too hotly near the Walls, erected a Trophy, which *Epaminondas* laughed at; saying, *It was not a Trophy that was set up, but a Stake of Trivia, which they usually placed in the High-way before the Gates.* *Diana.* One told him, the *Athenians* have sent an Army into *Peloponnesus*, adorned with new Armor; *What then* (said he) *doth Antigenidas sigh because Tellus hath got new Pipes?* *Antigenidas* was an excellent Piper, but *Tellis* a vile one. Understanding his Shield-bearer had taken a great deal of Money from a Prisoner: *Come* (said he) *give me the Shield, and buy you a Victualling House to live in, for now you are grown rich and wealthy, you will not hazard your Life as you did formerly.* Being asked, whether he thought *Himself*, or *Chabiras*, or *Iphicrates* the better General? 'Tis hard (said he) to judge while we live. After he returned out of *Laconia*, he escaped from a Sentence of Death, with his Fellow-Commanders, for continuing Governour of *Boeotia* four Months longer then the Law allowed. He bid the other Commanders lay the Blame upon him, as if he had forced them; and he said, *His Actions were his best Speech; but if any thing at all were to be answered to the Judges, he entreated them, if they put him to Death, to write his Fault upon his Monument; that the Grecians may know, Epaminondas compelled the Thebans against their Will to plunder and fire Laconia; which in five hundred years before had never suffered the like: To Build Messena two hundred and thirty years after it was sack'd, to unite the Arcadians, and to restore Liberty to Greece; for*

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those things were done in that Expedition. Whereupon the
Judges arose with great Laughter, and refused to re-
ceive the Votes. In his last Fight, being wounded,
and carried into his Tent, he called for *Diaphantes*, and af-
ter him, for *Jollidas*; and when he heard they were slain,
he advised the *Thebans* to make their Peace with the Ene-
my, since they had never a General left them; as by
the Event proved true: so well did he understand his
Country-men.

PELOPIDAS. *Pelopidas*, *Epaminondas's* Colleague,
when his Friends told him, he neglected a necessary Bu-
siness, that was the Gathering of Money: *In good deed*
(said he) *Money is necessary for this Nicomedas*; pointing
to a lame Man that could not go. As he was going out
to Fight, his Wife beseeched him to have a care of
himself: *That Admonition* (said he) *is fit to be given to o-*
thers; but to a Commander and General, that he should save
his Country men. A Souldier told him, *We are fallen a-*
mong the Enemies: Said he, *How are we fallen among them,*
more than they among us? When *Alexander the Pheræan*
Tyrant, broke his Faith, and cast him into Prison, he
reviled him; and when the other told him, he did but
hasten his Death; *That's my Design* (said he) *that the*
Thebans may be exasperated against you, and be revenged on
you the sooner. *Thebe*, the Wife of the Tyrant came to
him, and told him, *She wondred to see him so mewy in*
Chains: He answered, *He wondred more at her, who wai-*
ted upon Alexander without Chains. When *Epaminondas*
released him; (he said) *I thank Alexander, for I have*
now made an Experiment, That I have not only Courage to
Fight, but to Dye.

ROMAN

ROMAN APOTHEGMS.

M CURIUS. When some blamed *M. Curius*, for distributing but a small part of a Country he took from the Enemy, and reserving the greater part for the Common-wealth ; he prayed there might be no *Roman* who would think that Estate little, which was enough to maintain him. The *Samnites*, after an Overthrow, came to him to offer him Gold, and found him boiling *Rape-roots*. He answered the *Samnites*, *He that can Sup so, wanted no Gold : and that he had rather rule over those who had Gold, than have it himself.*

C. FABRICIUS. *C. Fabricius*, hearing *Pyrrhus* had overthrown the *Romans*, told *Labienus*, it was *Pyrrhus*, not the *Epirots* that beat the *Romans*. He went to treat with *Pyrrhus* about Exchange of Prisoners, who offered him a great Sum of Gold, which he refused : The next Day *Pyrrhus* commanded a very large Elephant should secretly be placed behind *Fabricius*, and discover himself by Roaring ; whereupon *Fabricius* turned and smiled ; *I was not astonished* (said he) *neither at your Gold yesterday, nor at your Beast to day.* *Pyrrhus* invited him to tarry with him, and to accept of the next Command under him : *That* (said he) *will be inconvenient for you ; for when the Epirots know us both, they will rather have me for their King than you.* When *Fabricius* was Consul, *Pyrrhus's* Physitian sent him a Letter, wherein he promised him, that if he commanded him, he would poyson *Pyrrhus* : *Fabricius* sent the Letter to *Pyrrhus*, and bid him conclude, that he was a very bad Judge both of Friends and Enemies. The Plot was discovered, *Pyrrhus* hanged his Physitian, and sent the *Roman* Prisoners he had taken without Ransom as a Present to *Fabricius* ; which he refused to accept, but returned the like Number for them, lest he might

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seem to receive a Reward: neither did he disclose the
Conspiracy out of Kindness to *Pyrrhus* but that the Ro-
mans might not seem to kill him by Treache-
ry, as if they despaired to Conquer him in
open War.

FABIUS MAXIMUS. *Fabius Maximus* would not
Fight, but chose to spin the time with *Hannibal*, who
wanted both Money and Provision for his Army, by
pursuing and facing him in rocky and mountainous Places.
When many laughed at him, and called him *Hannibal's*
School-master, he took little notice of them, but pursued
his own Design; and told his Friends, *He that is afraid*
of Scoffs and Reproaches, was (in his Opinion) *more a Cow-*
ard, than he that fled from the Enemy. When *Minucius*
his Fellow Consul, upon routing a Party of the Enemy,
was highly extolled as a Man worthy of Rome: *I am*
more afraid (said he) *of Minucius's Success, than of his*
Misfortune: And not long after, falling into an Ambush,
he was in danger of perishing with his Forces, until *Fa-*
bius succoured him, slew many of the Enemies, and
brought him off. Whereupon *Hannibal* told his Friends,
Did I not often presage that Cloud on the Hills would some time
or other break upon us? After the City received the great
Overthrow at *Canna*, he was chosen Consul with *Marcel-*
lus, a daring Person, and much desirous to fight *Hanni-*
bal, whose Forces, if no body fought him, he hoped
would shortly disperse and be dissolved: Therefore *Han-*
nibal said, *He feared Fighting Marcellus, lest than Fabius,*
who would not fight. He was informed of a *Lucanian*
Souldier, that frequently wandred out of the Camp by
Night, after a Woman he loved, but otherwise an admi-
rable Souldier; he caused his Mistress to be seized pri-
vately, and brought to him. When she came, he went
for the Souldier, and told him, *It is known you lye out a*
Nights, contrary to the Law; nor is your for-
mer good Behaviour forgotten; therefore your
Faults

Faults are forgiven to your Merits : Henceforwards you shall carry with me, for I have your Surety, and brought out the Woman to him. Hannibal kept Tarentum with a Garifon, all but the Castle ; and Fabius drew the Enemy far from it, by a Stratagem took the Town, and plundered it. When his Secretary asked, what was his pleasure as to the holy Images ? Let us leave (said he) the Tarentines their offended Gods. When M. Livius, who kept a Garifon in the Castle, said, He took Tarentum by his assistance : others laughed at him ; but said Fabius, You say true, for if you had not lost the City, I had not re-took it. When he was Ancient, his Son was Consul, and as he was discharging his Office publicly with many Attendants, he met him on Horse-back ; the young Man sent a Serjeant to command him to alight ; when others were at a stand, Fabius presently alighted, and running faster than for his Age might be expected, embraced his Son : Well done Son (said he) I see you are wise, and know whom you govern, and the Grandeur of the Office you have undertaken.

SCIPIO the Elder. *Scipio the Elder spent what Leisure the Campaign and Government would allow him, on his Studies ; saying, He did most when he was idle. When he took Carthage by Storm, some Souldiers took Prisoner a very beautiful Virgin, and came and presented her to him : I would receive her (said he) with all my Heart, if I were a private Man, and not a Governour. While he besieged a great City, low scituated, wherein appeared above all, a Temple of Venus ; he ordered Appearances to be given for Actions to be tryed before him within three Days, in that Temple of Venus ; and he took the City, and was as good as his Word. One asked him in Sicily, On what Confidence he presumed to pass with his Navy against Carthage ? he shewed him three hundred Disciplin'd Men in Armor, and pointed to an high Tower on the Shoar ; There is not one of these (said he)*

that will not, at my Command, go to the Top of that Tower, and cast himself down headlong. Over he went, Landed, Burnt the Enemies Camp, and the Carthaginians sent to him, covenanted to surrender their Elephants, Ships, and a Sum of Money. But when Hannibal was sailed back from Italy, their Reliance on him made them repent of those Conditions: This coming to Scipio's Ear, Nor will I (said he) stand to the Agreement if they would, unless they pay me five hundred Talents more, for sending for Hannibal. The Carthaginians, when they were utterly overthrown, sent Embassadors to make Peace, and a League with him; he bid those that came, return immediately, as refusing to hear them, before they brought L. Terrentius with them, a good Man, whom the Carthaginians had taken Prisoner; when they brought him, he placed him in the Council next himself, on the Judgment-Seat; and then he transacted with the Carthaginians, and put an end to the War. And Terrentius followed him when he triumphed, wearing the Cap of one that was made free: And when he dyed, gave Wine mingled with Honey to those that were at the Funeral, and performed other Funeral Rites in his Honour. But these things were done afterwards. King Antiochus, after the Romans invaded him, sent to Scipio in Asia for Peace: That should have been done (said he) before, not now, when you have received a Bridle and a Rider. The Senate decreed him a Sum of Money out of the Treasury, but the Treasurers refused to open it on that day: Then (said he) I will open it my self, for the Moneys, with which I filled it, caused it to be shut. When Petilius and Quintus accused him of many Crimes before the People. On this very Day (said he) I conquered Hannibal and Carthage; I for my part, am going with my Crown on, to Sacrifice in the Capitol, and let him that pleaseth stay and pass his Vote upon me. Having thus said, he went his way, and the People followed him, leaving his Accusers declaiming to themselves.

T. QUINCTI-

T. QUINCTIUS. *T. Quinctius* was eminent so early, that before he had been Tribune, Prætor or Ædile, he was chosen Consul. Being sent as General against *Philip*, he was perswaded to come to a Conference with him; and when *Phillip* demanded Hostages of him, because he was accompanied with many *Romans*, and himself only attended with a few *Macedonians*: *You (said Quinctius) have created this Jealousie to your self, by killing your Friends and Kindred.* Having overcome *Philip* in Battle, he proclaimed in the *Isthmian Games*, That the *Grecians* were Free, and to be governed by their own Laws. All the *Roman* Prisoners, that in *Hannibal's* Days were sold for Slaves in *Greece*, each of those the *Grecians* redeemed with two hundred *Drachms*, and made him a Present of them, and they followed him in *Rome* in Triumph, wearing Caps on their Heads, such as they use to wear who are made Free. He advised the *Achaians*, who designed to make War upon the Island *Zacynthus*, to take heed, lest like a Tortoise, they should endanger their Head, by thrusting it out of *Peloponnesus*. When King *Antiochus* was coming upon *Greece* with great Forces, and all Men trembled at the Report of his Numbers and Equipage; he told the *Achaians* this Story: *Once I dined with a Friend at Chalcis, and wondring at the Variety of Dishes; said my Host, All these are Number Pork, only in Dressing and Sauces they differ: Meats. And therefore be not you amazed (said he) at the Kings Forces, when you hear talk of Spear-men, and Men at Arms, and choice Footmen, and Horse-Archers, for all these are but Syrians, with some little difference in their Weapons.* *Philopæmon*, General of the *Achaians*, had Horses good store, and Men at Arms, but could not tell what to do for Money; and *Quinctius* plaid upon him, saying, *Philopæmon had Arms and Legs, but he had no belly: and it hapned his Body was much after that Shape.*

CNEIUS DOMITIUS. *Cneius Domitius*, whom *Scipio* the Great sent in his stead to attend his Brother *Lucius* in the War against *Antiochus*, as he was viewing the Enemies Army, and the Commanders that were with him, advised him to set upon them presently : *We shall scarce* (said he) *have time enough now to Kill so many thousands, Plunder their Baggage, return to their Camp, and to refresh our selves too ; but we shall have time enough to do all this to Morrow.* The next day he engaged them, and slew fifty thousand of the Enemies.

PUBLIUS LUCINIUS. *Publius Lucinius*, Consul and General, being worsted in a Horse-Engagement by *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, what were slain, and what were took Prisoners, lost two thousand eight hundred Men Presently after the Fight, *Perseus* sent Embassadors to make Peace, and League with him ; and although he was overcome, yet he advised the Conqueror to submit himself and his Affairs to the Pleasure of the *Romans*.

PAULUS ÆMILIUS. *Paulus Æmilius*, when he stood for his second Consulship, was canvassed. Afterwards the War with *Perseus* and the *Macedonians* being prolonged by the Ignorance and Effeminacy of the Commanders, they chose him Consul : *I thank* (said he) *the People for nothing ; they chuse me General, not because I want the Office, but they want an Officer.* As he returned from the Hall to his own House, and found his little Daughter *Terisia* weeping, he asked her what she cry'd for? *Perseus* (said she) so her little Dog was called, is dead : *Luckily hast thou spoken* (said he) *Girl, and I accept the Omen.* When he found in the Camp much confident prating among the Souldiers, pretending to advise him, and busie themselves, as if they had been all Officers, he bid them be quiet, and only whet their Swords, and leave other things to his Care.

He ordered Night-Guards should be kept without Swords or Spears, that they might resist Sleep, when they

they had nothing else wherewith to resist the Enemy. He invaded Macedonia by the way of the Mountains ; and seeing the Enemy drawn up, *Nasica* advised him to set upon them presently: So I should (said he) if I were of your Age ; but long Experience forbids me, after a March, to fight an Army marshall'd regularly. Having overcome *Perseus*, he feasted his Friends for joy of the Victory ; saying, It required the same Skill to make an Army very terrible to the Enemy, and a Banquet very acceptable to our Friends. When *Perseus* was his Prisoner, he told him that he should not be led in Triumph ; That's (said he) as you please, meaning he might kill himself. He found an infinite quantity of Money, but kept none for himself ; only to his Son-in-law *Tubero*, he gave a Silver Cup with a Cover that weighed five Pounds, as the Reward of his Valour ; and that (they say) was the first piece of Plate that belonged to the *Æmelian* Family. Of the four Sons he had, he parted with two that were adopted into other Families ; and of the two that lived with him, one of them dyed at the Age of fourteen years, but five days before his Triumph ; and five days after the Triumph, at the Age of twelve Years, dyed the other. When the People that met him bemoan'd and compassionated his Calamities ; Now (said he) my Fears, and Jealousies for my Country are over, since Fortune hath discharged her Revenge for our Success on my House, and I have paid for all.

CATO the Elder. *Cato the Elder*, in a Speech to the People, inveighed against Luxury and Intemperance : How hard (said he) is it to persuade the Belly, that hath no Ears ? And he wondred how that City was preserved, wherein a Fish was sold for more than an Ox ! Once he scoffed at the prevailing Imperiousness of Women : All men (said he) govern their Wives ; We command all other Men, and our Wives us. He said, He had rather not be rewarded for his good Deeds, than not punished for his evil Deeds ; and at any time he could pardon all other Offenders besides

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besides himself. He instigated the Magistrates to punish
all Offenders ; saying, *They that did not prevent Crimes*
when they might, commanded them. Of young Men, he
liked them that blushed better than those who looked
pale ; and hated a Souldier that moved his Hands as he
walked, and his Feet as he fought , and sneezed louder
than his Out-cry, when he Charged. He said, *He was*
the worst Governour, who could not govern himself. It was
his Opinion, every one ought especially to reverence
himself ; for every one was always in his own Presence.
When he saw many had their Statues set up ; *I had ra-*
ther (says he) Men should ask, Why Cato had no Statue,
than why he had one ? He exhorted those in Power, to be
sparing of exercising their Power, that they might con-
tinue in Power. *They that seperate Honour from Vertue,*
said he, *separate Vertue from Youth.* A Governour, said he,
or Judge, ought to do Justice without Intreaty, not Injustice
upon Intreaty. He said, *Injustice, if it did not endanger*
the Authors , endangered all besides. He requested Old
Men, not to add the Disgrace of Wickedness to Old
Age, which was accompanied with many other Evils.
He thought a Man, when Angry, differed from a Mad
Man only in Time. That they who enjoyed their
Fortunes decently and moderately, were far from being
envied : *For they do not envy us,* said he, *but our Estates.* He
said, *They that were serious in ridiculous,*
Accompany or would be ridiculous in serious Affairs. Ho-
nourable Actions ought to succeed honour-
able Sayings ; *Least they loose,* said he,
* *Esteem.* *their * Reputation.* He blamed the Peo-
ple for always choosing the same Men Of-
ficers ; *For either you think,* said he, *the Government little*
worth, or very few are fit to Govern. He pretended to
wonder at one that sold an Estate by the Sea-side, as if
he were more Powerful than the Sea ; for he had drank
up that which the Sea could hardly drown. When he
stood

stood for the Consulship, and saw others begging and flattering the People for Votes, he cryed out aloud ; *The People had need of a sharp Physician, and a great Purge, therefore not the mildest, but the most inexorable Person was to be chosen ;* for which Word, he was chosen before all others. Shewing young Men to fight boldly : *Oftentimes,* said he, *the Speech and Voice doth terrifie and put to flight the Enemy, more than the Hand and Sword.* As he warred against *Beatica*, he was over-numbred by the Enemy, and in danger. The *Celtiberians* offered for two hundred Talents, to send him a Supply, and the *Romans* would not suffer him to engage to pay Wages to *Barbarians* : *You are out,* said he, *for if we overcome, not we, but the Enemy must pay them ; if we are routed, there will be no body to demand, nor to Pay neither.* Having taken more Cities, as he saith, than he staid days in the Enemies Country, he reserved no more of the Prey for himself, than what he eat or drank. He distributed to every Souldier, a Round of Silver ; saying, *It was better many should return out of the Campaign with Silver, than a few with Gold ;* for Governours ought to gain nothing by their Governments but Honour. Five Servants waited on him in the Army, whereof one bought three Prisoners, and understanding *Cato* knew it, before he came into his Presence, hang'd himself. Being requested by *Scipio Africanus* to befriend the banished *Athenians*, that they might return to their own Country ; he made as if he would not be concerned in that Business ; but when the Matter was disputed in the Senate, rising up, *We sit here,* said he, *as if we had nothing else to do, but to argue about a few old Græcians, whether they shall be carried to their Graves by ours, or by the Bearers of their own Country ?* *Posthumes Albinus* wrote an History in Greek, and in it begs the Pardon of his Readers : Said *Cato*, jeering him, *If the Parliament of Greece had commanded him to write it, he ought to be pardoned.*

SCIPIO JUNIOR. 'Tis reported that *Scipio Junior* never bought, nor sold, nor built any thing, for the space of fifty four Years, and so long he lived: and that of so great an Estate, he left but thirty three Pounds of Silver, and two of Gold behind him, although he was Lord of *Carthage*, and enriched his Souldiers more than other Generals. He observed the Precept of *Polybius*, and endeavoured never to return from the Courts, until by some means or other, he had engaged some one he lighted on, to be his Friend or Companion. While he was yet young, he had such a Repute for Valour and Knowledge, that *Cato* the Elder, being asked his Opinion of the Commanders in *Africa*, of whom *Scipio* was one, answered, in that Greek Verse;

He is wise only:

Others, like Shadows fly.

When he came from the Army to *Rome*, the People preferred him, not to gratifie him, but because they hoped, by his Assistance, to conquer *Carthage* with more ease and speed. After *Implor'd his help.*

he was entred the Walls, the *Carthaginians* defended themselves in the Castle, separated by the Sea, not very deep. *Polybius* advised him to scatter Galtrops in the Water, or Planks with Iron Spikes, that the Enemy might not pass over to assault their Bulwark: He answered, *That was ridiculous, for those who had taken the Walls, and were within the City, to contrive how they might not fight with the Enemy.* He found the City full of Greek Statues, and Presents brought thither from *Sicily*, and made Proclamation, That such as were sent from those Cities, might claim and carry away what belonged to them. When others plundered and carried away the Spoil, he would not suffer any that belonged to him, to take, nor so much as to buy any of it. *C. Lelius*, his most beloved Friend, assisted him when he stood to be Consul, and asked *Pompey* (who was

was thought to be a Pipers Son) Whether he stood or no? He replied, No; and besides promised to joyn with them in going about and procuring Votes, which they believed and expected, but were deceived; for News was brought that Pompey was in the Forum, fawning on, and solliciting the Citizens for himself; whereat others being enraged, Scipio laughed: *We may thank,* said he, *our Folly for this, who, as if we were not to request Men, but the Gods, lose our time, in waiting for a Piper.* When he stood to be Censor, Appius Claudius, his Rival told him, *He could salute all the Romans by their Names, whereas Scipio scarce knew any of them:* You say true, said he, *for it hath been my Care, not to know many, but that all might know me.* He advised the City, who then had an Army, in Celtiberia, to *The Censor.* send them both to the Army; either as Tribunes, or Lieutenants to the Army, to give an account as Witnesses or Judges, of every Souldiers Valour. When he was made Censor, he took away his Horse from a young Man, that in the time while Carthage was besieged, made a costly Supper, in which was a Symnel made after the *Honey-Cake.* Shape of that City, which he named Carthage, and set before his Guests to be plundered by them; and when the young Man asked the reason, Why he took his Horse from him? *Because,* said he, *you plundered Carthage before me.* As he saw C. Licinias coming towards him, *I know,* said he, *that Man is perjured; but since no body accuses him, I cannot be his Accuser and Judge too.* The Senate sent him thrice (as Clitomachus saith) to take Cognizance of Men, Cities and Manners, as an Overseer of Cities, Kings and Countries. As he came to Alexandria, and Landed, he went with his Head covered, and the Alexandrians running about him, intreated he would gratifie them by uncovering, and shewing them his desirable Face. When he uncovered his Head,

they

they clapped their Hands with a loud Acclamation. The King, by reason of his Laziness and Corpulency, making a hard shift to keep Pace with them; *Scipio* whispered softly to *Panætius*: The *Alexandrians* have already received some benefit of our Visitation, for upon our account they have seen their King walk.

Go on foot. There travelled with him one Friend,

Panætius the Philosopher, and five Servants, whereof one dying in the Journey, he could not buy another, but sent for one to *Rome*. The *Numantines* seemed invincible, and having overcome several Generals, the People the second time chose *Scipio* General in that War. When great Numbers strived to list them in his Army, even that the Senate forbid, as if *Italy* thereby would be left destitute. Nor did they allow him Money that was in Bank, but ordered him to receive the Revenues of Tributes that were not yet payable. As to Money, *Scipio* said, he wanted none, for of his own, and by his Friends he could be supplied; but of the Decree concerning the Souldiers, of that he complained; for the War would be difficult to manage, if they had been so often worsted by the Valour of the Enemy, because they had such to fight against; or if the Cowardise of the Citizens were the reason, because he must have such Soldiers. When he came to the Army, he found there much Disorder, Intemperance, Superstition and Luxury: Immediately he drove away the South-sayers, Priests and Panders. He ordered them to send away their Houshold-stuff, all except Kettles, a Spit, and an Earthen Cup. He allowed no Silver Cup larger than weighed two pounds, to such as desired it. He forbid them to bathe; and those that anointed themselves, were to rub themselves too; for Horses wanted another to rub them, because they had no Hand of their own. He ordered them to eat their Dinner standing, and such as was dressed without Fire; but they might

fit down at Supper, to Bread, single Furmenty, and Flesh boyld or roasted. Himself *Lye.* walked about cloathed in a black Caslock, saying, *He mourned for the Disgrace of the Army.* He met by chance with the Pack-Horses of *Memmi-* *Colonel.* *us* a Tribune that carried Cisterns set with precious Stones, and the best Corinthian Vessels :

Since You are such a one, said he, *You have made Your self useless to me, and to Your Country for thirty Days, but to Your self all Your Life long.* Another shewed him a Shield well adorned. *The Shield,* said he, *Young Man, is a fine one, but it becomes a Roman to have his Confidence placed rather in his Right Hand, than in his Left.* To one that was building the Rampire, saying, *His Burthen was very heavy :* *And deservedly,* said he, *for you trust more to this Wood, than to your Sword.* When he saw the rash Confidence of the Enemy, he said, *He would buy Security with time ; for a good General, like a good Physitian, useth Iron as his last Remedy ;* and yet he fought when he saw it convenient, and routed the Enemy. When they were worsted, the Elder Men chid them, and asked, *Why they fled from those they had pursued so often ?* 'tis said, a Numantine answered, *The Sheep are the same still, but they have another Shepherd.* After he had taken Numantia, and Triumphed a second time, he had a Controversie with C. Gracchus, concerning the Senate and their Allies ; and the abusive People made a Tumult about him as he spake from the Pulpit : *The Out-cry,* said he, *of the Army, when they Charge, never disturbed me, much less the Clamor of a Rabble of New-comers, to whom* *Frighted.* *Italy is a Step-Mother (I am well assured) and not a Mother.* And when they of Gracchus his Party cried out, *Kill the Tyrant:* No wonder, said he, *they that make War upon their Country, would kill me first ; for as Rome cannot fall while Scipio stands, nor can Scipio live when Rome is fallen.*

CÆCILIVS METELLVS. *Cæcilivs Metellus* designing to reduce a strong little Fort, a Captain told him, he would undertake to take it with the Loss only of ten Men; and he asked him, Whether himself would be one of those Ten? A young Colonel asked him, What Design he had in the Wheel? *If I thought,* said he, *my Shirt knett, I would pluck it off and burn it.* He was at Variance with *Scipio* in his Life time, but lamented at his Death, and commanded his Sons to assist at his Hearse; and said, *He gave the Gods thanks in the behalf of Rome, that Scipio was born in no other Country.*

C. MARIVS. *C. Marius* was of obscure Parentage, pursuing Offices by his Valour, pretended to the Chief Edileship; and perceiving he could not reach it, the same day he stood for the lesser, and missing of that also, yet for all that, he did not despair of being Consul. Having a Wen on each Leg, he suffered one to be cut, without binding, and endured the Chyrurgion, not so much as sighing, or once contracting his Eye-brows; and when the Chyrurgion would cut the other, he did not suffer him; saying, *The Cure was not worth the Pain.* In his second Consulship, *Lusius* his Sisters Son offered unchaste Force to *Trebotius*, a Souldier, who slew him; when many pleaded against him, he did not deny but confessed he killed the Colonel, and told the reason why. Hereupon *Marius* called for a Crown, the Reward of extraordinary Valour, and put it upon *Trebotius's* Head. He had pitched his Camp, when he fought against the *Teutons*, in a place where Water was wanting; when the Souldiers told him they were Thirsty, he shewed them a River running (by the Enemy's Trench) *Look you there,* said he, *is Water for you, to be bought for Blood;* and they desired him to conduct them to fight, while their Blood was fluent, and not all dried up with Thirst.

In the *Cimbrian War*, he made a thousand *Denizons.* valiant *Camertines* Free of Rome, which no

Law

Law did allow, and to such as blamed him for it: *I could not hear the Laws*, said he, *for this Noise of Weapon.* In the Civil War, he lay patiently intrenched and besieged, waiting for a fit Opportunity; when *Pompius Silon* called to him, *Marius, If You are so great a General, come down and Fight.* And do You, said he, *if You are so great a Commander, force me to fight against my Will if You can.*

LUTATIUS CATULLUS. *Lutatius Catullus*, in the *Cimbrian War* lay Encamped by the side of the River *Athetis*, and his Souldiers seeing the *Barbarians* attempted to pass the River, gave back; when he could not make them stand, he hastned to the Front of them that fled, that they might not seem to fly from their Enemies, but to follow their Commander.

SYLLA. *Sylla*, Sirnamed the *Fortunate*, reckoned these two things as the chiefest of his Felicities: The Friendship of *Metellus Pius*; and that he had spared, and not destroyed the City of *Athens*.

C. POPILLIUS. *C. Popillius* was sent to *Antiochus* with a Letter from the *Senate*, commanding him to withdraw his Army out of *Aegypt*, and to Renounce the Protection of that Kingdom during the Minority of *Ptolemy's* Children. When he came towards him in his Camp, *Antiochus* kindly saluted him at a distance, but without returning his Salutation, he delivered his Letter, which being read, the King answered, He would consider, and give him his Answer: Whereupon *Popillius* with his Wand made a Circle round him; saying, *Consider and Answer before you go out of this Place*; and when *Antiochus* answered, He would give the Romans Satisfaction. Then at length *Popillius* saluted and embraced him.

LUCULLUS. *Lucullus* in *Armenia*, with ten thousand Foot in Armour, and a thousand Horse, was to fight *Tigranes* and his Army of an hundred and

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fifty thousand, the day before the Nones of October, the same day on which formerly Scipio's Army was destroyed by the Cimbrians : when one told him, The Romans dread and abominate that Day : *Therefore, said he, let us fight to day valiantly, that we may make this Day of a black and unlucky one, a joyful and a Festival Day to the Romans.* His Souldiers were most afraid of their Men at Arms ; but he bid them be of good Courage, for it was more Labour to strip than to overcome them. He first came up to their Counterscarp, and perceiving the Confusion of the Barbarians, cried out, *Fellow Souldiers, the Day's our own !* and when no body stood him, he pursued, and with the Loss of five Romans, slew above an hundred thousand of the Enemies.

Cn. POMPEIUS. Cn. Pompeius, was as much beloved by the Romans, as his Father was hated. When he was young, he wholly sided with Sylla, and before he had born many Offices, or was chosen into the Senate, listed many Souldiers in Italy. When Sylla sent for him, he returned Answer, *He would not muster his Forces in the Presence of his General, unstepp'd, and without Spoils :* nor did he come before that in several Fights he had overcome the Captains of the Enemies. He was sent by Sylla Lieutenant-General into Sicily, and being told the Souldiers turned out of the way, and forced and plundered the Country. He seized the Swords of such as he sent abroad, and punished all other Straglers and Wanderers. He had resolved to put the Mamertines, that were of the other side, all to the Sword : Stennius the Orator said, *He would do Injustice if he did so, and should for the Sake of one that was guilty, punish many that were innocent ; since himself was the Person that perswaded his Friends, and forced his Enemies to side with Marius :* Pompey admired the Man, said, *He could not blame the Mamertines for being inveigled by such a Person, as preferred his Country beyond his own Life ;* and forgave both the City and Stennius too. When he
passed

passed into *Africa* against *Domitius*, and overcame him in a great Battle; the Souldiers saluted him General; He answered, *He could not receive that Honour, as long as the Fortification of the Enemies Camp stood undemolished*; upon this, although it rained hard, they rushed on, and plundered their Camp. At his Return, among other Courtesies and Honours wherewith *Sylla* entertained him, he stiled him, *The Great*; yet when he was desirous to Triumph, *Sylla* would not consent, because he was not yet chosen into the Senate; but when *Pompey* said to those that were about him, *Sylla doth not know, that more worship the rising, than the setting Sun*: *Sylla* cried aloud, *Let him Triumph*. Hereat *Servilius*, one of the Nobles, was displeased; the Souldiers also withstood his Triumph, until he had bestowed a Largeſs among them; and when *Pompey* replied, *He would rather forgo his Triumph, than flatter them*: Now (said *Servilius*) *I see Pompey is truly Great, and worthy of a Triumph*. It was a Custom in *Rome*, for Horse-men that had served in the Wars the time appointed by the Laws, should bring their Horse into the *Forum* before the *Censors*, and there give an account of their Warfare, and the Commanders under whom they had served. *Pompey* then Consul, brought also his Horse before the *Censors*, *Sellius* and *Lentulus*, and when they asked him, as the manner is, Whether he had passed all Offices in the Army? *All*, said he, *and under myself as General*. Having gotten into his Hands the Writings of *Sertorius* in *Spain*, among which were Letters from several Leading Men in *Rome*, inviting *Sertorius* to *Rome* to innovate and change the Government; he burnt them all, by that means giving Opportunity to ill-affected Persons to repent and mend their Manners. *Phrates* King of *Parthia*, sent to him, requesting, That the River *Euphrates* might be his Bounds: He answered, *The Romans had rather their Right should* Justice.

*Served
his whole
time in
the Army.*

be their Bounds towards Parthia. *L. Lucullus* after he left the Army, gave himself up to Pleasure and Luxury, jeering at *Pompey* for busying himself in Affairs unsuitable to his Age; he answered, That Government became old Age better than Luxury. In a Fit of Sickness, his Physicians prescribed him to eat a Thrush, but when none could be gotten, because they were out of Season; one said, *Lucullus* had some, for he kept them all the year, *It seems then*, said he, *Pompey must not live, unless Lucullus play the Glutton*; and dismissing the Physician, he eat such things as were easie to be gotten. In a great Dearth at *Rome*, he was chosen by Title, Overseer of the Market, but in reality, Lord of Sea and Land; and sailed *Africa*, *Sardinia* and *Sicily*; and having procured great quantities of Wheat, hastned back to *Rome*, and when by reason of a great Tempest, the Pilots were loath to hoist Sail, he went first aboard himself, and commanding the Anchor to be weighed, cried out aloud, *There is a Necessity of Sailing, but there is no Necessity of Living*. When the Difference betwixt him and *Cæsar* broke out, and *Marcellinus*, one of those whom *Pompey* had preferred, revolted to *Cæsar*, and inveighed much against him in the Senate; *Art not thou ashamed* (said he) *Marcellinus, to reproach me, who taught you to speak when you were dumb, and made you Vomit when you were starved?* To *Cato*, who severely blamed him, because when he had often informed him of the growing Power of *Cæsar* such as was Dangerous to a Democracy, he took little notice of it: He answered, *Your Counsels were more presaging, but mine more friendly*. Concerning himself he freely professed, That he entred all his Offices sooner than he expected, and resigned them sooner than was expected by others. After the Fight at *Pharsalia*, in his Flight towards *Ægypt*, as he was going out of the Ship, and into the Fisher boat, the King sent to attend him; turning

turning to his Wife and Son, he said nothing to them besides those two Verses of *Sophocles* :

*Whoever comes within a Tyrant's Door,
Becomes his Slave, though he were Free before.*

As he came out of the Boat, when he was struck with a Sword, he said nothing, but gave one Groan, and covering his Head, submitted to the Murtherers.

CICERO. *Cicero* the Orator, when his Name was play'd upon, and his Friends advis'd him to change it : Answered, *He would make the Name of Cicero more Honourable than the Name of the Cato's, the Catuli, or the Scauri.* He dedicated to the Gods a Silver Cup with a Cover, with the first Letters of his other Names, and instead of *Cicero*, a Seal Engraven : *Loud bawling Orators,* he said, *were driven by their Ignorance to Noise, and Lame Men to take Horse.* To *Verres*, who had a Son, that in his Youth had not well secured his Chastity, yet he reviled *Cicero* for his Effeminacy, and call'd him *Catamite* : *Do you not know,* said he, *that Children are to be rebuked at Home, within Doors?* *Metellus* the Prodigal told him, *He had slain more by his Wit- Evidence.* *nesses,* than he had saved by his Pleadings ; *You say true,* said he, *My Honesty exceeds my Eloquence.* When *Metellus* asked him, *Who his Father was?* *Your Mother,* said he, *hath made the Answer Difficult, for she was unchast.* *Metellus* himself was a light, inconstant and passionate Man, who when *Diodorus*, his Master in Rhetoric, died, caused a Marble Crow to be placed on his Monument ; and *Cicero* said, *He returned his Master a very suitable Gratuity, who had taught him to Fly; but not to Declaim.* Hearing *Vatinius* his Enemy, and otherwise a lewd Person, was dead, and the next Day that he was alive : *A Mischief on him,* said he, *for lying.* To one that seemed to be an *African*, who said, *He could not hear him when he*

pleaded: And yet, said he, *Your Ears are full bore.* He had Summoned as a Witness in a Cause, *Popilius Cotta*, an ignorant Blockhead, that pretended to the Law, and when he told the Court he knew nothing of the Business; *On my Conscience, I'll warrant You* (said Cicero) *he thinks You ask him a Question in the Law.* *Verres* sent a Golden Sphinx as a Present to *Hortensius* the Orator, who told Cicero, when he spoke obscurely, that he was not skill'd in Riddles: *That's strange*, said he, *since you have a Sphinx in your House.* Meeting *Voconius* with his three Daughters that were very hard Favoured, he told his Friends softly, that *Verse*,

*Children he have got,
Though the Sun consented not.*

When *Faustus* the Son of *Sylla*, being very much in Debt, set up a Writing, that he would sell his Goods by Auction; he said, *I like this Prescription better than his Fathers.* When *Pompey* and *Cæsar* fell out, he said, *I know who to fly from, but I know not whom to fly to.* He blamed *Pompey* for leaving the City, and for imitating *Themistocles* rather than *Pericles*, when his Affairs did not resemble the one, but the other. He changed his Mind and went over to *Pompey*, who asked him, Where he left his Son-in-law *Piso*? He answered, *With your Father-in-law Cæsar.* To one that revolted from *Cæsar* to *Pompey*, saying, *For haste and good Will he had left his Horse behind him*: he said, *You have taken more care of your Horse than of your self.* To one that brought News the Friends of *Cæsar* looked sourly, *You do as good as call them* (said he) *Cæsars Enemies.* After the Battle in *Pharsalia*, when *Pompey* was fled, one *Nonius*, said they, had *Ensigns*. *Rebuilt.* seven Eagles left still, and advised to try what they would do: *Your advice*, said he, *were good, if we were to fight with Jack-daws.*
Cæsar

Cæsar now Conqueror, honourably restored the Statues of *Pompey* that were thrown down ; whereupon *Cicero* said, That *Cæsar*, by erecting *Pompey's Statues*, hath secured his own. He set so high a Value on Oratory, and did so lay out himself, especially that way, that having a Cause to plead before the Judges, in capital Causes, when the day approached, and his Slave *Eros* brought him word it was deferred until the day following, he presently made him Free.

C. CÆSAR. *C. Cæsar*, when he was a young Man, and fled from *Sylla*, fell into the hands of Pyrates, who first demanded of him a Sum of Money, and he laughed at the Rogues for not understanding his Quality, and promised them twice as much as they asked him. Afterwards, when he was put into Custody until he raised the Money ; he commanded them to be quiet and silent while he slept. While he was in Prison, he made Speeches and Verses which he read to them, and when they commended them but coldly, he called them *Barbarians* and *Blockheads*, and threatened them in jest, that he would hang them ; but after a while he was as good as his word : for when the Money for his Ransom was brought, and he discharged, he gathered Men and Ships out of *Asia*, seized the Pyrates, and crucified them. At *Rome*, he stood to be chief Priest against *Catulus*, a Man of great Interest among the *Romans* : To his Mother, who brought him to the Gate, To day, said he, Mother, You will have Your Son High Priest, or banished. He divorced his Wife *Pompeia*, because she was reported to be over familiar with *Clodius* ; yet when *Clodius* was impleaded upon that account, and he was cited as a Witness, he spake no Evil against his Wife ; and when the Accuser asked him, Why then did you divorce her ? Because (said he) *Cæsar's Wife* ought to be free even from Suspition. As he was reading the Exploits of *Alexander*, he wept, and told his Friends, He was of my Age when he Conquered *Darius*,

rius, and I hitherto have done nothing. He passed by a little inconsiderable Town in the *Alps*, and his Friends said, They wondred whether there were any Contentions and Tumults for Offices in that Place? He stood, and after a little Pause, answered, *I had rather be the First in this Town, than Second in Rome.* He said, *Great and surprising Enterprises were not to be consulted, but done.* Coming against *Pompey* out of his Province of *Gaul*, he passed the River *Rubicon*, saying, *Let every Die be thrown.* After *Pompey* fled to Sea from *Rome*, he went to take Money out of the Treasury; when *Metellus*, who had the Charge of it, forbid him, and shut it against him, he threatened to kill him; whereupon *Metellus* being astonished; This, said he, *Young Man, is harder for me to say, than to do.* When his Souldiers were tedious in their Passage from *Brundisium* to *Dyrrachium*, unknown to all, he goes aboard a small Vessel, and attempted to pass the Sea, and when the Vessel was in danger of being over-set, he discovers himself to the Pilot, crying out, *Trust Fortune, and know that you carry Cæsar:* But the Tempest being so vehement, and his Souldiers coming about him, and expostulating passionately with him, whether he distrusted them, and was going to another Army? would not suffer him to pass at that time. They Fought, and *Pompey* had the better of it; but instead of following his Blow, retreated to his Camp. To day (said *Cæsar*)

the Enemy had the Victory, but none of them
What to know how to Conquer. *Pompey* commanded his
do with Army to stand in Array at *Pharsalia*, in the
the Victo- same Place, and to receive the Charge from
ry. their Enemies. In this, *Cæsar* said he was

out, thereby suffering the Eagerness of his Souldiers Spirits, when they were up, inspired with Rage and Success in the midst of their Carreer to languish and expire. After he routed *Pharnaces Ponticus*, he wrote thus to his Friends, *I came, I saw, I overcame.* After *Ser-*

pio was worsted in *Africa*, and fled, and Cato killed himself; he said, *I envy thee thy Death, O Cato! since thou didst envy me the Honour of saving thee.* *Antonius* and *Dolabella* were suspected by his Friends, who advised him to secure them; he answered, *I fear none of those Fat and Lazy, but those Pale and Lean Fellows,* meaning *Brutus* and *Cassius*. As he was at Supper, the Discourse was of Death, which sort was the best? *That,* said he, *which is unexpected.*

CÆSAR AUGUSTUS. *Cæsar*, who was first surnamed, *Augustus*, being yet young, demanded of *Anthony* a very great Sum of Money which he had taken out of the House of *Julius Cæsar* when he was slain, that he might pay the *Romans*, as he left them for Legacies every Man Seventy *Drachmas*. But when *Anthony* detained the Money, and bid him, if he were wise, let fall his Demand. He sent the Crier to offer his own Paternal Estate to sale, and therewith discharged the Legacies; by which means he procured a general Respect to himself, and to *Anthony* the hatred of the *Romans*. *Rymetalces*, King of *Thrace*, forsook *Antony*, and revolted to him; but bragging immoderately in his Drink, and nauceously reproaching his former Confederates, *Cæsar* drank to another of those Kings, and told him, *I love the Treason, but do not commend the Traytor.* The *Alexandrians* Hate. when he had taken that City, expected great Severity from him, but he came upon the Judgment-Seat, and placed *Arius* the *Alexandrian* by him, and told them, *I spare this City; First, Because it is great and beautiful: Secondly, For the Sake of its Founder, Alexander: And thirdly, For the Sake of Arius my Friend.* It being told him, that *Eros*, his Steward in *Ægypt*, had bought a Quail that bear all he came near, and was never worsted by any, and roasted and eat it; he sent for him, and when upon Examination he confessed the Fact, he ordered him to be nailed on the

Crucified on.

Mast

Mast of the Ship. He removed *Theodorus*, and in his
 stead made *Arius* his Factor in *Sicily*, whereupon a
 Petition was presented to him, in which was written,
Theodorus of Tharsus is either a Bald-pate
Pleasure. or a Thief; *What is your Opinion?* *Cæsar* read
I grant it. it and subscribed, *I think so.* *Mecænas*, his in-
 timate Companion, presented him yearly on
Large silver his Birth-day with a piece of Plate. *Atheno-*
Tankard. *dorus* the Philosopher, by reason of his Old
 Age, begged leave that he might retire from
 Court, which he granted; and as *Athenodorus* was taking
 his Leave of him, *Remember* (said he) *Cæsar*, *whenever*
you are angry, you say, or do nothing, before you have repeat-
ed the four and twenty Letters to your self: whereupon *Cæsar*
 catching him by the Hand, *I have need*, said he, *of your pre-*
sence still, and kept him a year longer, saying, *The Reward*
of Silence, is a Secure Reward. He heard *Alexander* at the
 Age of Thirty two Years, had subdued the greatest part
 of the World, and was at a loss what he should do with
 the rest of his Time; But he wondred *Alexander* should
 think it a lesser Labour to gain a great Empire, than to
 set in Order what he had gotten. He made a Law con-
 cerning Adulterers, wherein was determined, how the
 Accused were to be tryed, and how the Guilty were to be
 punished: Afterwards, meeting with a young Man, that
 was reported to have been familiar with his Daughter
Julia, being enraged, he struck him with his Hands; but
 when the young Man cryed out, *O Cæsar! You have made*
a Law: He was so troubled at it, that he refrain'd from
 Supper that Day. When he sent *Caius* his Daughter's
 Son into *Armenia*, he begg'd of the Gods, that the Fa-
 vour of *Pompey*, the Valour of *Alexander*, and his own
 Fortune might attend him. He told the *Romans* he would
 leave them one to succeed him in the Government, that
 never consulted twice in the same Affair, meaning *Ti-*
berius. He endeavoured to pacifie some Young Men
 that

that were Imperious in their Offices; and *Tumultuous.* when they gave little heed to him, but still kept a stir: *Young Men*, said he, *hear an old Man, to whom Old Men hearkned when he was Young.* It was the Athenians had offended him, and he writ to them from *Ægina*; *I suppose you know I am angry with you, otherwise I had not wintered at Ægina:* Besides this, he neither said nor did any thing to them. One of the Accusers of *Eurycles* prayed lavishly and unreasonably, proceeding so far as to say, *If these Crimes, O Cæsar! do not seem great to you, command him to repeat to me the Seventh Book of Thucydides;* wherefore Cæsar being enraged, commanded him to Prison: But afterwards, when he heard he was descended from *Brasidas*, he sent for him again, and with a moderate Rebuke dismissed him. When *Piso* built his House from top to bottom with great exactness, *You cheer my Heart* (said he) *who build so, as if Rome would be Eternal.*

Cæsar Augustus, at the beginning, demanded of Anthony, *What he took out of Julius Cæsar's House?* *δραχμάς πεντακεσίας μυριάδας;* This I call in general a very great Sum, because *μυριάδας* is doubtful, whether it should be intrepreded by Mille or Milles. If the former, it seems unproportionate to what it was designed; If the latter, it is of our Money 1953125 *l.* And happens to the same Sum which (if I remember) Sueton and Appian tell us. He said, he wanted to be worth nothing; meaning, to pay his Debts. A little after its said he gave to every Roman by Legacy *δραχμὰς ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε;* which taking the Drachma to be the same with the Roman Penny, viz. 7d. ob. comes to about 2*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* ob. a Man.

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. I.

Plutarch's Rules for the Preservation of Health. In a Dialogue between Moschio and Zeuxippus.

Translated from the Greek by Matt. Poole M.D.
of Northampton.

Moschio. **A**ND you *Zeuxippus* diverted *Glaucus* the Physician from entering into a Philosophical Discourse with us Yesterday.

Zeuxippus. I did not hinder him in the least. Friend *Moschio*, it was he that would not discourse in Philosophy. But I was afraid, and willing to decline, giving so contentious a Man any opportunity of Discourse: For though in Physic the Man has (as *Homer* expresses it) an Excellency before most of his Profession: Yet in Philosophy he is not altogether so candid, but indeed so rude in all his Disputations, as he is hardly to be born with, flying (as it were) at us open mouth'd. So that it is neither an easie nor indeed a just thing that we should bear, those Confusions in terms he makes, when we are Disputing about a wholesom Diet. Besides he maintains, that the bounds of Philosophy and Medicine are as distinct, as those of the *Mysians* and *Phrygians*. And taking hold of some of those things we were discoursing of, perhaps not with all exactness, yet not without some profit, he made scurrilous Reflections on them.

Moschio.

Moschio. But I am ready, *Zeuxippus*, to hear those, and what other things you shall Discourse of, with a great deal of pleasure.

Zeuxippus. You have naturally a Philosophical Genius, *Moschio*, and are troubled to see a Philosopher have no Kindness for the Study of Medicine. You are uneasy that he should think it concerns him more to Study *Geometry*, *Logic* and *Music*, than to be desirous to understand, Whether the Fabric of his Body, as well as his Houses, be well or ill design'd. You shall see many Spectators at that Play where their Charges are defrayed out of the publick Stock, as they do at *Athens*. Now among all the Liberal Arts, *Medicine* does not only contain so neat and large a Field of Pleasure as to give place to none, but plentifully pays the Charges of those who delight in the study of her, with Health and Safety; so that it ought not to be called the Transgression of the bounds of a Philosopher to dispute about those things which relate to Health, but rather all bounds being laid aside, we ought in the same common Field, friendly to manage our Disputations, and so enjoy both the Pleasure and the Profit of them.

Moschio. But to pass by *Glaucus*, who with his pretended Gravity would be thought to be so perfect, as not to stand in need of Philosophy: Do you, if you please, run through the whole Discourse, and first, those things which you say were not so exactly handled, and *Glaucus* carp at.

Zeuxippus. A Friend of ours then heard one alledging, That to keep ones hands always warm, never suffering them to be cold, did not a little conduce to Health; and on the contrary, the extream Parts of the Body being kept cold, drives the heat inward, so that you are always in a Fever, or the fear of one. But those things which force the heat outwards, do distribute and draw the matter to all parts, with advantage to our Health.

If in any work we employ our Hands, we ought to keep in that heat which is induc'd by their Motion. But when we do no work with our Hands, we should take all care to keep our extream parts from cold: This was one of those things he Ridiculed. The second, as I remember; was, What Diet you allow your Patient? Which he advises sometimes both to touch and taste: using our selves to them in Health, and not to be shy of them, like little Children; or hate such a Diet, but by degrees to make it acquainted with, and familiar to, our Appetite, that in our sickness we may not nauseate wholesom Diet, as if it were Physic; nor be uneasie when we have prescribed any insipid thing, that lacks both the smell and taste of a Kitchen. Wherefore we need not to be so squeemish, as not to eat before we wash; or drink Water when we may have Wine; or warm drink in Summer, when there is Snow at hand. Laying aside the Foppish and Sophistical Abstinence from those things as well as the vain glory of doing so; we our selves tacitely accustoming our Appetite to be obedient to whatsoever is convenient; and that without regret, abolishing our usual contempt of such things in our Sickness; and not Effeminately to bewail our Condition, as if we were fallen from great and beloved Pleasures, into a low and fordid Diet. It was well said, Chuse out the best condition you can, it must be Custom must make it pleasant to you: And this will be beneficial in most things we undertake, but more especially as to Diet; in the height of our Health introducing a Custom whereby those things may be rendred easie, familiar, and as it were, Domesticks of our Bodies, remembring what some suffer, and do in sickness, who fret at, and are not able to endure warm Water, or Broths, or Bread when it is brought to them, calling them dirty and unseemly things; and the Persons who would urge them to them, base and troublesom. The *Bath* hath destroyed many, whose

whose Distemper at the beginning was not very bad, only because they could not endure to eat before they wash'd. Among whom *Titus* the Emperor was one, as his Physicians affirm. This also was censured, That a thin Diet is the healthfullest to the Body. But we ought chiefly to avoid all Excess in Meat, or Drink, or Pleasure; When there is any Feast or Entertainment at Hand, or we expect any Royal or Princely Banquet, or Solemnity which we cannot possibly avoid, then ought the Body to be light and in readiness to receive the Winds and Waves it is to meet with. It is a hard matter for a Man at a Feast or Collation to keep that mediocrity or bounds he has been used to, so as not to seem rude, precise, or troublesome to the rest of the Company: *Left we should add Fire to Fire* (as the Proverb is) or one Debauch or Excess to another; we should take care to imitate that ingenious Droll of *Philip*, which was this, He was invited to Supper by a Country-man, who supposed he would bring but few Friends with him; but when he saw him bring a great many, there not being much provided, he was much concern'd at it: which when *Philip* perceived, he sent privately to every one of his Friends, that they should leave a Corner for Cake; which they believing, and still expecting, they eat so sparingly, that there was Supper enough for them all. So we ought before hand to prepare our selves against all unavoidable Invitations, that there may be room left in our Body, not only for the Meal and the Dessert, but Drunkenness it self, by bringing in a fresh and a willing Appetite along with us: But if such a necessity should surprize you, when you are already loaded or indisposed, either in the Presence of Persons of Quality, or Strangers that come in upon you unawares, and you cannot for shame but go and Drink with them that are ready for that purpose, then you ought to Arm your self against

T

that

that Modesty and prejudicial shamefac'dness, with that of the *Tragedian Creon*, who says,

*'Tis better, Sirs, I should you now displease,
Than by complying, next day lose my ease.*

He who to avoid being censur'd as an uncivil Person, throws himself into a *Plurisie* or a *Phrensie*, is certainly no well-bred Man, nor has Sense or Understanding enough to converse with Men, unless in a Tavern or a Cooks-Shop. Whereas an Excuse ingeniously and dextrously made, is no less acceptable than compliance. He that makes a Feast, though he be as unwilling to taste of it himself, as if it was a Sacrifice, yet if he be merry and jocund over his Glass at Table, jesting and Drolling upon himself, seems better Company, than they who are Drunk and Gluttoniz'd together. Among the Ancients, he made mention of *Alexander*, who after hard Drinking was asham'd to resist the importunity of *Medius*, who invited him afresh to the drinking of Wine, of which he died; and of our time, of *Riglus* the Wrestler, who being call'd by break of Day by *Titus Caesar* to the Bath, he went and washed with him; and drinking but once (as they say) was seiz'd with an *Apoplexy*, and died immediately. These things *Glaucus* in Laughter objected to us as Pedantic. He was not over fond of hearing farther; nor indeed we of discoursing more; nor did he give much heed to every thing that was said. First, *Socrates* advises us to beware of such Meats as perswades a Man, though he be not an hungry, to Eat them; and of those Drinks that would prevail with a Man to Drink them, when he is not a Thirsty: not that he absolutely forbade us the use of them, but taught that we might use them where there was occasion for it; suiting the Pleasure of them to our Necessity; as *Citys* converted the Money which was design'd for the Poor to see Plays with,

with, into a supply for War. For that which is delightful to Nature, so long as it becomes a part of its Nourishment, it is proper for it. He that is hungry may eat things either necessary or pleasant; but when he is freed from his common Appetite, he ought not to raise up a fresh one: For as Dancing was no unpleasant Exercise to *Socrates* himself; so he that can make his Meal of Sweat-Meats, or a Second Course, receives the less damage. But he that has received what may sufficiently satisfy his Nature already, ought by all means to avoid them. And concerning these things, the ignorance of a Decorum and Ambition, is no less to be avoided than the love of Pleasure or Gluttony. For these often persuade Men to Eat without hunger, or drink without thirst; possessing them with ungentle and troublesome Phantries, as if it was indecent not to taste of every thing, which is either a Rarity, or of great Price, as *Udder*, *Italian Mushrooms*, *Famian Cakes*, or *Snow in Egypt*. These often incite Men to eat things Rare and much talked of; who are led to it as it were by the Modes of Vain-glory, making their Bodies to partake of them without any Necessity of it, that they may have something to tell others, who shall admire your having eaten such rare and superfluous things. And thus it is with them in relation to fine Women; when they are in Bed with their own Wives, who are both beautiful and kind, they are no way concern'd; but on *Phryne* or *Lais*, they bestow their Money, and incite an infirm and unfit Body, and provoke it to intemperate Pleasures, and all this out of Vain-glorious humour. *Phryne* her self said, That her old Age was very beneficial to her, because she had been in Repute when she was Young. It is a great and miraculous thing, that Nature should enjoy all the bodily Pleasures she stands in need of; and more, when by reason of Business they are repugnant and contrary to it, and are only made use of upon necessity; and rather (as

Plato saith) sting and molest it, and yet receives no Injury. And again, those Pleasures of the Mind, which have an influence upon the Body, which urge and force it to the Obedience of its Passions, must of necessity leave behind them the greatest and severest ills, as the Effects of such infirm and dark Delights. The desire of our Mind ought no ways to incite our Bodies to any Pleasure: for the beginning of them is against Nature. And as the tickling of ones Arm-pits forces a Laughter, which is neither moderate or merry, or indeed properly a Laughter, but rather troublesom, and like Convulsions: so those Pleasures which the molested and disturbed Body receives from the Mind, are furious, troublesom, and wholly strangers to Nature. Therefore when any rare or noble Dish is before you, you'll get more Honour by refraining from it, than partaking of it: Remember what *Simonides* said, That it never repented him that he had held his Tongue, but often that he had spoken; so we shall not repent that we have refused a good *Muscadine*. Dish, or drank Water instead of *Falerum*, but the contrary. We are not only not to commit Violence to Nature; but when any of those things are offer'd to her, even when she has a desire to them, we ought oftentimes to direct the Appetite to a more innocent and accustomed Diet, that she might be used to it, and acquainted with it: For, as the *Theban* said (though not over honesty.) If the Law must be violated, it looks best when it is done for an Empire. But we say better, If we take Pride in any such thing, it is best when it is in that moderation which conduces to our Health. But a narrowness of Soul, and a stingy Humour compels some Men to keep under and defraud their Genius at home, who when they enjoy the costly Fare of another Man's Table; do cram themselves as eagerly as if it were all Plunder: then they are taken ill, go home, and the next day find the Crudity of their Stomachs,

machs, the Reward of their Unsatiableness. Wherefore *Crates* supposing, that Luxury and Prodigality were the chief Cause of Seditions and Insurrections in a City; in a Droll advises, That we should never exceed in our Meats beyond a *Lentle*, lest we bring our selves into Sedition. But let every one exhort himself, that though he does not encrease his Meal beyond a *Lentle*, and though he pass by *Cresses* and *Olives*, yet falling upon Pudding and Fish, that by his over eating, he does not bring his Body into Tumults, Disturbances, and *Diarrheas*; for a mean Diet keeps the Appetite within its natural bounds; but the Arts of Cooks and Confectioners with their Elaborate Dishes, and Aromarick Wines, does (according to the *Comedian*) enlarge the bounds of Pleasure, and entrench upon those of our Profit. I know not how it comes to pass, That we should abominate and hate those Women that either bewitch, or give Philters to their Husbands; yet give our Meat and Drink to our hired Servants, only to be Just, not Corrupted and Poyson'd. For though that may seem too severe which was said by *Arcelaus* against Lascivious and Adulterous Persons, that it signifies little which way one is; yet it is not much from our purpose. For what difference is there (to speak ingenuously) whether *Satyriion* moves and whets my Lust, or my Taste be irritated by the Scent of the Meat, or the Sauce; so that like a part Infected with the Itch, it shall always need scratching and tickling? But we shall perhaps discourse of Pleasures in another place, and shew the beauty and dignity that Temperance has within it self; for our present Discourse is concerning many and great Pleasures: for Diseases do not either rob or spoil us of so much Business, Hope, Journeys, or Exercise, as they do of our Pleasures: so that it is no way convenient for those who would follow their Pleasure, to neglect their Health. There are Diseases which will permit a Man to Study Philosophy, and

to exercise any Military Office; nay, to act the Kingly Part. But the Pleasures and Enjoyments of the Body, are such as cannot be born alive in the midst of a Distemper; or if they are, the Pleasures they afford, are not only short and impure, but mix'd with much Allay, and bear the Marks of that Storm and Tempest out of which they rise. *Venus* her self delights not in a gorg'd, but in a calm and serene Body; and Pleasure is the end of that, as well as it is of Meat and Drink. Health is to Pleasure, as still Weather to the *Haleyon*, which gives it safe and commodious Nest and Birth. *Prodicus* seems elegantly enough to have said, That of all Sauces, Fire was the best: but most true it is to say, That Health gives things the most Divine and gratefulest Relish; for Meat, whether it be boyl'd, roasted, or stew'd, has no Pleasure or gusto in it to a Sick, Surfeited, or Nauseous Stomach. But a clean and undebauch'd Appetite renders every thing sweet and delightful to a sound Body; and (as *Homer* expresses it) Devourable. As *Demades* told the *Athenians*, who unseasonably made War, That they must never expect to Treat of Peace, but in Mourning: so we never think of a moderate and slender Dyet, but when we are in a Fever, or under a course of Physic: which when we are in, we diligently conceal our Enormities, which though we remember well enough, yet as many do, we lay the blame of our illness, now upon the Air, now upon the unhealthfulness of the Place, or the length of a Journey; to take it off from that Intemperance and Luxury which was the Cause of it. As *Lysimachus*, when he was among the *Scythians*, and constrain'd by his Thirst, deliver'd up himself and his Army into Captivity; afterwards, drinking cold Water, Cryed out, O ye Gods! For how short a Pleasure have I thrown away a great Felicity! So in our Sickness, we ought to consider with our selves, That for the sake of a draught of cold Water, an unseasonable Bath, or good

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Company, we spoil many of our delights, our necessary business, and lose many pleasant diversions. The Remorse that arises from these Considerations, wounds the Conscience, and sticks to us in our Health like a Scar, to make us more cautious as to our Diet: for a healthful Body does not breed any enormous Appetite, or such as we cannot prevail with, or overcome. But we ought to put on resolution against our Extravagant Desires or Efforts towards Enjoyment; esteeming it a low and childish thing to give ear to their Complaints and Murmurs: for they cease as soon as the Cloth is taken away, and will neither accuse you of injustice, or think you have done them wrong; but on the contrary, you'll find them pure and brisk, no way clog'd or nauseating the next day. As *Timotheus* said, when he had a Light and Musical Dinner t'other day with *Plato* in the *Academie*, *That they who Dine with Plato, never complain the next Morning.* It is Reported, That *Alexander* should say, *When he had turn'd off his usual Cooks, that he carried always better with him.* For his Journeys by Night recommended his Dinner to him; and the slenderness of that, his Supper. I am not ignorant that Fevers seize Men upon a Fatigue, or excess of a Heat or Cold: but as the scent of Flowers which in themselves is but faint, if mixt with Oyl is more strong and fragrant: so an inward fulness gives as it were a Body and Substance to the external causes and beginnings of Sicknes, without which they could do no hurt, but they would vanish and fade away, where there is lowness of Blood and and pureness of Spirit to receive the Motion; which in fullness and superabundance, like disturb'd Mud, makes all things polluted, troublesome, and hardly recoverable. We ought not to imitate the good Marriner, who out of Covetousness loads his Ship hard, and afterwards labours hard to throw out the Salt Water; by first clogging and overcharging our Bodies, and endeavouring

afterwards to clear them by Purges and Clysters ; but we ought to keep our Bodies in right order, that if at any time they should be oppress'd, their lightness might keep them up like a Cork. We ought chiefly to be careful in all pre-indispositions and fore-warnings of Sick-ness. For all Distempers do not invade us, as *Hesiod* expresses it, in silence ; for the Gods have struck them dumb : But the most of them have an ill Concoction , and a kind of a Laziness, which are the fore-runners and harbingers that give us warning. Sudden heaviness and weariness tell us a Distemper is not far off (as *Hippocrates* affirms) by reason it seems of that fulness which doth oppress and load the Spirits in the Nerves. There are some, who when their Bodies do in a manner contradict them, and invite them to a Couch and Repose, that through Gluttony and Love of Pleasure, throw themselves into a Bath , or make haste to some Drinking meeting, laying in, as if it were, for a Siege ; being mightily in fear lest the Fever should seize them before they have din'd. Those who pretend to more exactness, are not caught in this manner, but foolishly enough, who because they are ashamed to own their Qualms and Debauch, or to keep House all day, when others call them to go with them to the Fencing School, arise and pull off their Clothes with them, doing the same things which they do that are in Health. Intemperance and Effeminacy makes many flie to the Proverb for Patronage, *That Wine is best after Wine ; and that one Debauch is the way to drive out another.* The hopes of which, persuades and urges them as soon as they rise, rashly to fall to their wonted Excesses. Against which hope, He ought to set that Prudent advice of *Cato*, when he says, *That great things ought to be made less, and the lesser to be quite left off ; and that it is better to abstain and be at quiet, than by being forc'd either to Bath, or Dinner, to run our selves into hazard.* For if there be any ill in it, it is an injury to us
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that we did not watch over our selves, and refrain; but if there be none, it is no inconvenience to your Body to have abstain'd, and be made more pure by it. He is but a Child who is afraid lest his Friends and Servants should perceive that he is sick either of a Surfeit or a Debauch. He that is ashamed to confess the Crudity of his Stomach to day, will to morrow with shame confess, That he has either a *Diarrhæa*, a *Fever*, or the *gripping in the Guts*. You think it a disgrace to want, but 'tis a greater disgrace to bear the Crudity, Heaviness, and Fulness of your Body, which is carried into the Bath, like a rotten and leaky Ship into the Sea. As some Seamen are ashamed to live on Shore when there is a Storm at Sea; yet when they are at Sea, lye shamefully crying, and wratching to Vomit: so in any suspicion or tendency of the Body to any Disease, they think it an indecorum to keep their bed one day, and not to have their Table spread; yet most shamefully for many days together are forc'd to be Purg'd and Plaister'd, flattering and obeying their Physicians: asking for Wine or cold Water, being forc'd to do and say many unseasonable and absurd things, by reason of the pain and fear they are in: Those therefore who cannot govern themselves in their Pleasures, but are inclin'd to, and carry'd away by their Lusts, may opportunely be taught and put in mind, that they receive the greatest share of their Pleasures from their Bodies. And as the *Lacones* gave the Cook Venegar and Salt, and bid him look for the rest in the *Victim*, so in our Bodies, the best Sauce to whatsoever is brought before us, is, that our Bodies are pure and in health. For that any thing is sweet, or costly, is in its own Nature, and without any of those things which it then is, when it is in a Body that is delighted with it, and is according to Nature: but in those Bodies which are Foul, Surfeited, and not pleas'd with it, it loses its beauty and convenience. Wherefore we

need not be too much concern'd, whether Fish be fresh, or Bread Fine, or whether the Bath be warm, or your self Friend a Beauty ; but whether you are not squeamish, and foul ? whether you are not disturb'd, and feel the dregs of yesterdays Debauch ; which if you do not do, it will be as when some drunken Revellers break into a House where they are Mourning, who bring neither Mirth nor Pleasure with them, but encrease the Lamentation. So *Venus*, Meats, Baths, Wines mingled in a Body that's crazy and out of order with these things that are not yet vitiated and corrupted, stirs up Phlegm and Choler, and creates great trouble : neither do they bring any Pleasure answerable to their expectations, or that is worth either enjoying or speaking of. An extraordinary exact Diet, to as much as will lie upon ones Nail (as we say) puts ones Body both in fear and danger ; It hinders the Gallantry of our Soul it self, makes it suspicious of every thing, or having to do with any thing ; no less in Pleasures than in Labours ; so that it dare not undertake any thing boldly and courageously : We ought to do by our Body as by the Sail of a Ship in fair and clear Weather, we must not contract it, and draw it in too much ; nor when we have any suspicion upon us be too rimiss or negligent about it, but give it some allowance, and make it plyable (as we have said) and not expect Crudities and Diarrhea's, or Fevers, or Drowsiness, by which some, as by Messengers and Apparitors (when a Fever is at hand) are frighted, and moderate themselves ; but forthwith take care to prevent the Storm, as if the North-wind blew at Sea. It is absurd, as *Democrates* says, by the Croaking of Ravens, the Crowing of a Cock, or the Wallowing of a Sow in the Mire, carefully to observe the signs of Windy or Rainy Weather, and not to prevent and guard our selves against the motions and fluctuations of our Bodies, or the Indication of a Distemper, nor to understand the Signs of

a Storm, which we are either already in, or soon shall be. So that we are not only to observe our Bodies as to Meat and Exercise, whether they use them more sluggishly or unwillingly than they were wont; or whether you be more Thirsty or Hungry than you use to be; but also to take care as to your Sleep, whether it be continued and easie, or whether it be Irregular and Convulsive. For absurd Dreams and irregular and unusual Phantasies show either abundance or thicknes of Humour, or else a disturbance of the Spirits. For the Motions of the Soul show that the Body is nigh a Distemper. For there are despondences of mind, and fears that are without reason, or any apparent cause, which extinguish our hopes on a sudden. Some there are that are sharp and prone to anger, whom a little thing makes sad, and these cry and are in great trouble, when ill vapours and fumes meet together; and as *Plato* says, hinder the free course of the Soul: wherefore those to whom such things happen, must consider and remember, whether there be nothing Spiritual, that is the bodily Cause, which is necessary to be brought away, and Purg'd. Besides it is profitable for him who visits his Friends in their Sicknes, to enquire after the causes of it; not Sophistically or impertinently discoursing about the beginning of a Distemper, or what happens in it, or the common notions from whence the indication is taken, and so shewing his Skill in the Terms of Art which are used in Medicine. But when you have with diligence heard those trivial and common things discoursed of, *viz.* Fullness or Emptiness, Weariness, lack of Sleep; but chiefly, the Diet which he uses to keep that is sick of a Fever: then as *Plato* us'd to ask himself, after the miscarriage of other Men he had been with, *Am not I also such an one?* So ought we to take care by our Neighbours misfortunes, and diligently to beware that we don't fall into them, and not to cry out upon our sick Bed,

How precious above all other things is Health. When another is in Sickneſs, let it learn you how valuable a Treafure Health is, which we ought to keep and preſerve with all poſſible care. Neither will it be amiſs for every man to look into his own Diet. If therefore we have been Eating, Drinking, Labouring, or committing any other Diſorder, and our Bodies give us no ſuſpition, or hint of a Diſtemper ; yet ought we nevertheless to ſtand upon our Guard, and take care of our ſelves. If after Venery and Labour, by giving of our ſelves reſt and quiet, after drinking of Wine and Feaſting, by drinking of Water ; but eſpecially, after we have fed on Fleſh or ſolid Meats, or eat divers things, by Abſtinence, that we may leave no Superfluity in our Bodies : For theſe things alone, as they are the Cauſes of many Diſeaſes, ſo they Adminiſter Matter and Force to other Cauſes. Wherefore it was very well ſaid, *That to Eat, but not to Satiſſie ; to Labour, but not to Wearineſs : and to keep in Nature, are of all things the moſt Healthful.* For Intemperance in Venery takes away that Vigor by which our Nouriſhment is Elaborated, and cauſes more Superfluity and Redundance. But we ſhall begin and Treat of each of theſe, and firſt we ſhall Diſcourſe of thoſe Exerciſes which are proper for a Scholar : And as he that by ſaying, He ſhould preſcribe nothing for the Teeth, to them that dwell by the Sea-ſide, taught them the benefit of the Sea-water ; ſo one would think, that there was no need of Writing concerning the Exerciſe of a Scholar. For it is wonderful what an Exerciſe the daily uſe of Speech is, not only as to Health, but even to Strength. I mean not Fleſhly, and Athletick Health, or ſuch as makes ones External parts as firm (as it were) as a Houſe, but ſuch as gives a right Tones an inward Vigor to the Vital and Noble Parts. And that Spirit increaſes ſtrength is plain, by them who appointed the Wreſtlers who commanded them to ſtrengthen

en themselves by Friction, and sometime to leave off, always keeping carefully those parts of the Body which were smear'd and rubb'd. Now the Voice being a Motion of the Spirit, not superficially, but firmly seated in the Bowels, as it were in a Fountain; it encreases the heat, thins the Blood, Purges every Vein, opens all the Arteries, neither does it permit the Coagulation or Condensation of any superfluous Humor, which would settle like dregs in those Vessels which receive and work our Nourishment. Wherefore we ought by much speaking, to accustom our selves to this Exercise, and make it familiar to us; or if we suspect that our Bodies are weaker, or more tir'd than ordinary by reading or reciting. For what riding in a Coach is in respect of Exercise, that is Reading or Disputing; if you carry your Voice softly and low, as it were in the Chariot of another Man's Words. For Disputes bring with them a Vehemence and Contention, adding the Labour of the Mind to that of the Body. All passionate Noise, and such as would force our Lungs, ought to be avoided; for irregular and violent strains of our Voice may break something within us, or bring us into Convulsions. But he that has either Read, or Disputed, ought to make use of a gentle and tepid Friction, so opening the pores of his Body, as much as is possible, even to his very Bowels, that so his Spirits may be gently pacified, and diffuse themselves to the Extream Parts of his Body. The bounds that this Friction ought not to exceed are, that it be done no longer than it is pleasant to our Sense, and without pain. For he that so lays the disturbance which is within himself, and the agitation of his Spirits, that Superfluity which remains in him, will not be troublesome to him; and if it be unseasonable for to walk, or his business hinders him, it is no great Matter; for Nature has already receiv'd satisfaction. Whether one be at Sea, or in a public Inn, it is not necessary that he should

should be silent, though all the Company laugh at him; For where it is no shame to Eat, it is certainly no shame to Exercise himself: but it is worse to stand in awe of, and be troubled at Seamen, Carriers, and Inn-keepers, that laugh at you, because you don't play at Ball, or fight with your own Shadow; than that in your Discourse you Exercise your self by learning others; or enquiring, and learning something your self, or else call to mind something. For *Socrates* said, He that uses the Exercise of Dancing, had need have a Room big enough to hold Seven Beds; but he that makes either Singing or Discourse his Exercise, may do it either standing or lying in any place.

But this one thing we must observe, That when we are conscious to our selves, that we are too full, or have been concern'd with *Venus*, or Labour'd hard, we do not too much strain our Voice, which many Rhetoricians and Readers in Philosophy have done, some out of Glory and Ambition, some for Reward, or private Contentions, have forc'd themselves beyond what has been convenient. Our *Niger*, when he was teaching Philosophy in *Galatia*, by chance swallowed the bone of a Fish, but a stranger coming to Teach in his Place, *Niger* fearing he might run away with his Repute, continued to Read his Lectures, though the Bone still stuck in his Throat. From whence a great and hard Inflammation arising, he, being unable to undergo the Pain, permitted a deep Incision to be made, by which Wound the Bone was taken out, but the Wound growing worse, and Rheum falling upon it, it kill'd him. But this may be mention'd hereafter in its proper place. After Exercise to use a cold Bath is boyish, and has more Ostentation in it than Health; For though it may seem to harden our Bodies, and make them not so subject to outward Accidents, yet it does more prejudice to the inward Parts, by hindring Transpiration, fixing the Humors,

mors, and condensing those Vapours which love freedom and Transpiration. Besides Necessity will force those who use cold Baths, into that exact and accurate way of Diet they would so much avoid, and make them take care, they be not in the least Extravagant; for every such Error is sure to receive a bitter reproof. But a warm Bath is much more pardonable, for it does not so much destroy our Natural Vigour and Strength, as it does conduce to our Health; laying a soft and easie Foundation for Concoction; preparing those things for Digestion, which are not easily digested, without any pain (if they be not very crude and deep Lodg'd) and freeing us from all inward weariness. But when we do sensibly perceive our Bodies to be indifferent well, or as they ought to be; we should omit Bathing, and Anoint our selves by that Fire, which is better, if the Body stand in need of Heat, for that dispenses a warmth throughout. But we should make use of the *Sun*, neither more, nor less, but as the temper of the Air permits. So much may suffice to have been said concerning Exercises. As for what has been said to Diet before, if any part of it be profitable in instructing us how we should allay, and bring down our Appetites; yet there still remains one thing more to be advis'd: That if it be troublesome to Treat ones Belly, like one broke loose, and to contend with it, though it has no ears (as *Cato* said) then ought we to take care, That the quality of what we Eat, may make the quantity more light; and with all Caution, Eat Meats that are Solid, and so much Nourishment (for it is hard to refuse them always) such as are Flesh, Cheese, dry'd Figs, boyl'd Eggs, but Eat more freely of those things which are thin and light; such as are moist Herbs, Fowl and Fish, if they be not too fat: for he that Eats such things as these, may gratifie his Appetite, and yet not oppress his Body. But ill Digestion is chiefly to be feared after Flesh, for it
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presently very much clogs us, and leaves ill Relics behind it. It is best to accustom ones self to Eat no Flesh at all, for the Earth affords plenty enough of things, not only fit for Nourishment, but for Delight and Enjoyment ; some of which you may Eat without much preparation, and others you may make pleasant to you, by adding divers other things to them. But since Custom is so far from being Preternatural, that it is almost a Second Nature ; thus we ought not when we Eat Flesh, to do it to the cloying of our Appetites, like Wolves or Lions ; but only to lay as it were a Foundation, and Bulwark for your Nourishment, and then to come to other Meats and Sawces, which are more agreeable to the Nature of our Bodies, and do less dull our Rational Soul, which seems to be enlivened by a light and brisk Diet. As for Liquors, we should never make Milk our Drink ; but rather take it as Food, it yeilding much and Solid Nourishment. As for Wine, we must say to it, as *Euripides* said to *Venus*,

*Thy Joys with moderation I would have ;
And that I neer may want them, humbly crave.*

For Wine is the most beneficial of all Drinks, the pleasantest Physic in the World, and yields the most delicious *haut-goust*, if it be drunk in a time when it is more seasonable than Water. Water, not only mingled with Wine, but if it be drunk by it self, between Wine and Water together, it makes the mingled Wine the less hurtful : we should accustom our selves therefore in our daily Diet, to drink two or three Glasses of Water, which will allay the strength of the Wine, and make drinking of Water familiar to our Body, that so in a case of Necessity, it may not be look'd on as a stranger, and we be offended at it. It so falls out, that some have then the
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greatest inclination for Wine, when there is most need they should drink Water ; who when they have born the heat of the *Sun*, and afterwards fall into an *Horror*, or been speaking vehemently, or have been more than ordinary Thoughtful about any thing, or after any Fatigue or Labour, are of the Opinion, That they ought to drink Wine, as if Nature required some Repose for the Body, and some Diversion after its Labours ; but Nature requires no such Repose (if you will call Pleasure, Repose :) but desires only such an alteration as shall be between Pleasure and Pain : In which case we ought to abate of our Diet, and either wholly to abstain from Wine, or drink it allay'd with very much mixture of Water : For Wine being sharp and fiery, encreases the disturbances of the Body, exasperates them, and wounds the part affected ; which stands more in need of being comforted and smoothed , which Water does the best of any thing. If when we are not thirsty we should drink warm Water, after Labour, Exercise, or Heat, we find our inward parts loosened and smooth'd by it ; for the moisture of Water is gentle and not violent ; but that of Wine carries a great force in it ; which is no ways agreeable in the fore-mentioned cases. And if any one should be afraid that abstinence would bring upon the Body that acrimony and bitterness, which some say it will, he is like those Children who think themselves much wrong'd because they main't eat just before the fit of a *Fever*. The best mean between both these, is drinking of Water. We oftentimes Sacrifice to *Bacchus* himself without Wine ; doing very well in accustoming our selves not to be always desirous of Wine. *Minos* made the Pipe be laid aside at the Sacrifice, and the Crown when there was mourning. And we know an afflicted mind is not at all concerned, either at the Pipe or Crown. But there is no Body so strong, to which, in Commotion or a *Fever*, Wine does not do a great deal of injury. The

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For Wine is the most beneficial of all Drinks, the pleasantest Physic in the World, and yields the most delicious *haut-goust*, if it be drunk in a time when it is more seasonable than Water. Water, not only mingled with Wine, but if it be drunk by it self, between Wine and Water together, it makes the mingled Wine the less hurtful : we should accustom our selves therefore in our daily Diet, to drink two or three Glasses of Water, which will allay the strength of the Wine, and make drinking of Water familiar to our Body, that so in a case of Necessity, it may not be look'd on as a stranger, and we be offended at it. It so falls out, that some have then the greatest

greatest inclination for Wine, when there is most need they should drink Water; who when they have born the heat of the *Sun*, and afterwards fall into an *Horror*, or been speaking vehemently, or have been more than ordinary Thoughtful about any thing, or after any Fatigue or Labour, are of the Opinion, That they ought to drink Wine, as if Nature required some Repose for the Body, and some Diversion after its Labours; but Nature requires no such Repose (if you will call Pleasure, Repose;) but desires only such an alteration as shall be between Pleasure and Pain: In which case we ought to abate of our Diet, and either wholly to abstain from Wine, or drink it allay'd with very much mixture of Water: For Wine being sharp and fiery, encreases the disturbances of the Body, exasperates them, and wounds the part affected; which stands more in need of being comforted and smoothed, which Water does the best of any thing. If when we are not thirsty we should drink warm Water, after Labour, Exercise, or Heat, we find our inward parts loosened and smooth'd by it; for the moisture of Water is gentle and not violent; but that of Wine carries a great force in it; which is no ways agreeable in the fore-mentioned cases. And if any one should be afraid that abstinence would bring upon the Body that acrimony and bitterness, which some say it will, he is like those Children who think themselves much wrong'd because they mayn't eat just before the fit of a *Fever*. The best mean between both these, is drinking of Water. We oftentimes Sacrifice to *Bacchus* himself without Wine; doing very well in accustoming our selves not to be always desirous of Wine. *Minos* made the Pipe be laid aside at the Sacrifice, and the Crown when there was mourning. And we know an afflicted mind is not at all concerned, either at the Pipe or Crown. But there is no Body so strong, to which, in Commotion or a *Fever*, Wine does not do a great deal of injury. The

Lydians are reported in a Famine, to have spent one day in eating, and the other in Sports and Drollery. But a lover of Learning, and a friend to the Muses, when at any time he is forc'd to Sup later than ordinary, will not be so much a slave to his Belly as to lay aside a *Geographical* Scheme when it is before him, or his Book, or his Lyre; but strenuously turning himself, and taking his mind off from eating, will in the Muses name, drive away all such desires, as so many Harpies from his Table. Will not the *Scythian* in the midst of his Cups, oftentimes handle his Bow, and sing to his Fiddle, thereby rousing up himself from that drunkenness in which he was immers'd? Will a *Greek* be afraid, because he's laught at, by Books and Letters, gently to loosen and unbend any blind and obstinate desire? The young Men in *Meander*, when they were drinking were trepan'd by a Bawd, which brought in to them a company of handsome and richly attired Women; but every one of them, as he said, kept their Eyes upon the Banquet they were eating, not one of them daring to look upon them. Lovers of Learning have many fair and pleasant diversions, if they can no other way keep in their canine and brutish Appetites when they see the Table spread. The bawling of such fellows as anoint Wrestlers, and the opinion of Pedagogues, that Discourse of Learning at Table, hinders our nourishment, and dulls ones Head, is indeed of force then, when we are about to resolve a Fallacy, or dispute who is the best Man at Table. For though the brains of the Bird they call a *Phoenix*, be very sweet, yet they say they'l cause the Head-ach. To discourse of Logic at Meals, is not indeed a very delicious Banquet, but is rather troublesom, and pains ones Head; but they who will not give us leave to discourse Philosophically, or ask any question, or read any thing at Table, though it be of those things which are more decent and profitable, than pleasantly merry, we'd desire them

them not to trouble us, but to leave such things to the *Athlete* in the *Xystum*, and the *Palestra*, who have laid aside their Books, and are wont to spend their whole time in jeers and scurrilous jests: who are as *Aristo* wittily expresses it, like the Pillars in the *Gymnasium*, viz. very fine things, but notwithstanding they are but stones. But we who obey our Physicians, advise you keep some interval between Supper and sleep, and not to heap up together a great deal of Victuals in our Stomachs, and so shorten our breath, lest we presently by crude and fermenting Aliment over-charge our Concoction, but keep our respiration free and open. As those who have a mind to exercise themselves after Supper, do not do it by Running or Wrestling, but rather by gentle Exercise, such as Walking, or Dancing. So when we intend to exercise our Minds after Supper, we are not to do it with any thing of Business, or Care, or those Sophistical Disputes, which bring us into a vain-glorious and violent contention. But there are many questions in Natural Philosophy which are easie and probable; there are many disquisitions which relate to manners, which please the mind (as *Homer* expresses it) and do no way discompose it. Questions in History and Poetry have been by some ingeniously called, A second course to an ingenious Man and a Scholar. There are Discourses which are no way troublesome; and besides, Fables may be told. Nay, it is easier to Discourse of the Pipe and Lyre, or hear them discours'd of, than it is to hear either of them played on. The Quantity of time allow'd for this exercise, is till our Meat be gently settled within us, so that our Concoction has power enough to master it. *Aristotle* is of Opinion, That to walk after Supper stirs up our natural heat; but to sleep, if it be soon after, choaks it. Others again say, That rest keeps Concoction, and that motion disturbs it. Hence some walk immediately after Supper: others chuse rather to keep themselves still. But

that Man seems to obtain the design of both, who cherishes and keeps it quiet, not immediately dejecting or dulling his mind : But, as has been said, gently distributing and lightning his spirits, either by hearing or speaking some pleasant thing ; and not such as will either molest or oppress us. Medicinal Vomits and Purges, which are the bitter reliefs of Gluttony, are not to be attempted without great necessity. The manner of many is to fill themselves, because they are empty ; and again, because they are full, to empty themselves contrary to Nature ; being no less tormented with being full, than being empty ; and are troubled at their fulness, as being a hinderance of their pleasure, and are always emptying themselves, that they may prepare a place for it. The damage in these cases is evident : For the Body is disorder'd, and, as it were, torn by both these. It is an inconvenience that always attends a Vomit, That it encreases and gives nourishment to this insatiable humour. For hunger, like an interrupted stream, is rough and troublesome ; and though it is not always ill, yet it forces a Man to his Meat, not with that Appetite to it which he ought to have, but such an one as is the effect of those inflammations the Physic he took has made in him. Wherefore his pleasures are short and imperfect, and in the enjoyment are very furious and unquiet ; upon which there comes distentions, and our pores and spirits are affected ; and so receive those Relics which will not wait for a natural Evacuation, but abound in the Body so much, that it is like a Ship over-loaded with Ballast, where it is more necessary to throw something overboard, than to take any thing more in. Those disturbances in our Bellies which are caused by Physic, corrupt and consume our inward parts, and do rather encrease our superfluous Humours, than bring them away : Which is as if one that was troubled at the number of *Greeks* that inhabited the City, should call in the *Arabians* and *Scythians*.

Some

Some are so much mistaken, That upon their voiding their accustomed and natural superfluities, take presently *Cnidian-berries*, or *Scammony*, or some other harsh and incongruous Physic, which is more fit to be carried away by Purge, than it is able to Purge us. It is best therefore by a moderate and regular Diet to keep our Bodies in order, so that it may command it self, as to fullness or emptiness. If at any time there be a necessity, we may take a Vomit, but without Physic, or much tampering; and such an one as will not cause any great disturbance. For as Linnen Cloths when they are wash'd with Soap and Nitre, are more worn out, than when they are wash'd with Water only; so Physical Vomits corrupt and destroy the Body. If at any time we are constive, there is no Medicine better than some sort of Meats, which will Purge you gently and with ease; the Trial of which is very usual, and the use of them without any pain. But if it will not yield to those, we may drink Water for some days, or fast, or take a Clister, rather than take any troublesome purging Physic; which most Men are inclin'd to do, like those sort of Women which take things on purpose to miscarry, that they may be empty and begin afresh. But to lay aside these things: There are some on the other side are too exact in enjoying themselves to periodical and set fasts, doing amiss in learning Nature to want, when there is no occasion for it, and making that abstinence necessary which is not, which will in time require its accustomed way of living. It is better to lay those Injunctions we lay upon our Bodies with more freedom, and when we have no presentment or suspicion upon us, so to order our Diet as has been said, that our Bodies may be always obedient to any change, and not be enslaved or ty'd up to one manner of living; nor so exactly regarding the times, numbers and periods of our actions. For it is a life neither safe, easie, politic, or like a Man; but such as is more like

the life of an Oyster, or the Trunk of a Tree, to live so without any variety, and in restraint as to our Meat, abstinence, motion and rest; casting our selves into a gloomy, idle, solitary, unsociable and inglorious way of living, not reaching the terms of civility; at least I may say in my opinion: For Health is not to be purchas'd by sloth and idleness, for those are the chief Inconveniences of sickness; and there is no difference between him who thinks to enjoy his Health by idleness and quiet, and him who thinks to preserve his Eyes by not using them, and his Voice by not speaking. For such a Mans Health will not be any advantage to him in the performance of many things he is obliged to, as a Man. Idleness can never be said to oblige to Health, for it destroys the very end of it. Nor is it true, That they are most Healthful that do least. For *Xenocrates* was not more Healthful than *Phocion*; or *Theophrastus* than *Demetrius*.

It signified nothing to *Epicurus* or his Followers, as to that so much talk'd of good Habit of Body, that they declined all business, though it were never so Honourable. We ought to preserve the Natural Constitution of our Bodies by other means knowing every Part of our Life is capable of Sickness and Health.

The contrary Advice is to be given to those who are concerned in publick Business, to that which *Plato* gave his Scholars: For he was wont when he came to his School, to say, *See, Children, that you take some leisure in every good action you do.* Now to those that are in public Office, our Advice is, That in every honest and necessary action they use industry, not tiring their Bodies with small or inconsiderable things. For many upon accident torment themselves with Watchings, Journeys, running up and down for no Advantage, or with any good Design; but only that they may do others an Injury, or that they envy them, or are competitors with them, or that they hunt after unprofitable and empty glory. To
such

such as these, I think, *Democritus* chiefly spoke, when he said, That if the Body should summon the Soul before a Court of Judicature, it would be found to have done the Body many ill Offices. Likewise *Theophrastus* was in the right, when he said Metaphorically, That the Soul is a great deal of Rent behind-hand to its Landlord the Body. For the Body is very much inconvenienc'd by the Soul, when it is used beyond Reason, and there is not care enough taken of it. For when it is in passion, action, or any concern, it does not at all consider the Body. *Jason* being somewhat out of Humour, said, That in little Things we ought not to stand upon Justice, that in greater Things we may be sure to do it. We, and that in Reason, advise any publick Man to trifle and play with little Things; and in such Cases to indulge himself, so that in worthy and great Concerns he does not bring a dull, tir'd, and weary Body, but such an one as is the better for having lain still; like a Ship in the Dock, that when there is occasion to call in the Soul to business, it may be as willing to follow it as a wean'd Colt does the Mare. Upon which account, when business gives us leave, we ought to refresh our Bodies, neither grudging them Sleep, nor Dinner, nor that Ease which is the *Medium* betweed Pain and Pleasure; not taking that course which many do, that thereby wear out their Bodies by the many changes they expose them to, making them like hot Iron thrown into cold Water; by softning and troubling them with Pleasures, after they have been very much oppress'd with Labour. And on the other side, after they have opened their Bodies, and made them tender, either by Wine or Venery, they exercise them either at the Bar, or at Court, or enter upon some other Business which requires earnest and vigorous Action.

Heraclitus when he was in a *Dropsie*, desired his Physician to bring a Drought upon his Body, for it had had

a Glut of Rain. Most Men are very much in the wrong, who after being tired, or having laboured, or fasted, effeminate, and, as it were, dissolve their Bodies in Pleasure, and, and again force and distend them after those Pleasures, Nature does not require that the Body should be made amends at that rate. But an intemperate and flavish Mind, after it has been taking pains, like the Sea-men, run into Pleasures and Delights, though to its Injury, and again fall upon Business, so that Nature can have no rest, or leave to enjoy that Temper and Calmness which it does desire, but by their irregularity is troubled and tormented. Those that have any discretion, never so much as offer Pleasure to a tir'd Body, neither does it altogether require it, nor they so much as think of them, their Minds being intent upon that employ they are in, either the Delight or Diligence of the Soul getting the mastery over all other Desires. *Epimanondas* is reported wittily to have said of a good Man that died in the time of the *Leuctrian* War: How came he to have so much leasure as to die when there was so much business stirring? It may truly be ask'd concerning a Man that is either of public Employ, or a Scholar, What time can such a Man spare either to debauch his stomach, or be drunk, or lascivious? For such Men, after they have done their business allow quiet and repose to their Bodies, reckoning not only unprofitable pains, but unnecessary pleasure to be Enemies to Nature, and avoid them as such. I have heard that *Tiberius Caesar* was wont to say, That he was a ridiculous Man that held forth his hand to a Physician after sixty. But it seems to me to be a little too severely said. But this is certain, That every Man ought to have skill in his own Pulse, for they are very different in every Man; neither ought he to be ignorant of the temper of his own Body, as to heat and cold, or what things do him good, and what hurt. For he has no Sense, and is both a Blind and Lame Inhabitant of
his

his Body, that must learn these things from another, and must ask his Physician whether it is better with him in Winter or Summer ; or whether moist or dry things agree best with him ; or whether his Pulse be frequent, or vary. For it is necessary and easie to know such things by Custom and Experience. It is convenient to understand more what Meats and Drinks are wholesome, than what are pleasant ; and to have more skill in what is good for the stomach, than in those things that are not ; and those things that are easie of Digestion, than those things that gratifie our Palate. For it is no less scandalous to ask a Physician what is easie and what is hard of Digestion, and what will agree with your Stomach, and what not, than it is to ask what is sweet, and what bitter, and what sour. They now-adays correct their Cooks, being able well enough to tell what is too sweet, too salt, or too sour, but themselves don't know what will be light or easie of digestion, and agreeable to them. Therefore in the seasoning of broth they seldom err, but they do so scurvily pickle themselves every day, as to afford work enough for the Physician. For that Pottage is not accounted best that is the sweetest ; but they mingle bitter and sweet together. But they force the Body to partake of many, and those cloying Pleasures, either not knowing, or not remembering, that in things that are healthful and beneficial to Nature, that she takes pleasure without any regret to repentance afterward. We ought also to know what things are cognate to, and convenient for, our Bodies, and be able to direct a proper Diet to any one upon any Change of Weather, or any other Circumstance. As for those inconveniences which sordidness and poverty bring upon many, as gathering of Fruit, continual Labour, and running about, and want of rest, which fall heavy upon the weaker parts of the Body, and such as are inwardly infirm, we need not fear that any Man of Employ, or a Scholar,

Scholar, should be troubled with them, to whom our present discourse belongs. But there is a severe sort of fordidness, which they ought to avoid, as to their Studies, by which they are forc't many times to neglect their Bodies, oftentimes denying it a supply, when it has done its work, making the mortal part of us do its share in work as well as the immortal, and the earthly part as much as the heavenly. But, as the Ox said to his fellow-servant the Camel, when he refused to ease him of his burthen, it won't be long before you carry my burthen and me too. Which fell out to be true, when the Ox died. So it happens to the Mind when it refuses that little relaxation and comfort which it needs in its Labour, within a little while after a Fever or Vertigo seizes us, and then Reading, Discoursing and Disputing must be laid aside, and it is forc't to partake of the Bodies Distemper. *Plato* therefore rightly exhorts us, Not to employ the Mind without the Body, nor Body without the Mind, but to keep them like a pair of Horses; and when at any time the Body Toils and Labours with the Mind, then to be the more careful of it, by keeping of it in its beloved Health, believing that it obliges us with the best of things, when it is no impediment to us in Business or Discourse, or the Knowledge and Enjoyment of Vertue.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. I.

How a Man may receive Advantage from, and be profited by, his Enemies.

*Render'd into English by John Hartcliffe,
Fellow of Kings-College in Cambridge.*

NOT to mention, CORNELIUS PULCHER, your gentle, as well as skillful administration of public Affairs, for which goodness and humanity you have gotten an Interest in Mankind, we clearly perceive, that in your private Conversation, you have made a quiet and peaceable way of living, your choice and continual practice. By these means you are justly esteemed a useful Member of the Commonwealth in general, and also a friendly, affable Companion to those who familiarly converse with you, as being a Person free from all sour, rough and peevish Humours. For, as it is said of Crete, we may by great chance discover one single Region of the World, that never afforded any Dens or Coverts for wild Beasts: * But through the long succession of Ages, even to this Time, there scarce ever was a State or Kingdom, that hath not suffered under Envy, Hatred, Emulation, the Love of Strife, fiercer

* The greatest mischiefs arise from the want of Love and Charity for one another.

fierce and unruly Passions, of all others the most productive of Enmity and Ill-will among Men. Nay, if nothing else will bring to pass, Familiarity will at last breed Contempt, and the very Friendship of Men doth frequently draw them into Quarrels, that prove sharp, and sometimes implacable. Which that wise Man *Chilo* did well understand, who, when he heard another assert, that he had no Enemy, ask'd him very pertinently, whether he had no Friend? In my judgment therefore it is absolutely necessary, that a Man, especially if he sit at the Helm, and be engaged to steer the Government, should watchfully observe every posture and motion of his * Enemy, and subscribe to *Xenophon's* Opinion in this case; who hath set it down as a Maxim of the greatest Wisdom, for a Man to make the best advantage he can of him, that is his Adversary.

* Enemies give the best instructions to Governors.

Wherefore having lately determined to write somewhat on this Argument, I have now gathered together all my scattered thoughts and meditations upon it, which I have sent to you, digested into as plain a Method as I could; forbearing all along to mention those Precepts and Observations I have heretofore made and written concerning Civil Government, because I know, you have that Treatise at your Hand, and often under your Eye.

Our Ancestors were well satisfied and content, if they could safely guard themselves from the violent IncurSIONS of wild Beasts *; if they could live secure from the Injuries those Creatures might bring upon them. But their Posterity have laid down their Weapons of Defence, and have invented a quite contrary use of

* The use of Enemies compared with the use of Men made of Beasts.

of them, making them serviceable to some of the chief ends of human Life. For their Flesh served for Food, and their Hair for Cloathing, Medicines and Antidotes were devised out of their Entrails, and their Skins were converted into Armor. So that we may upon good grounds fear, that if these supplies had failed; their manner of Life would have appear'd Savage; destitute of convenient Food and Rayment, barbarous and naked.

Although our Fore-fathers received these benefits and comforts from the very Beasts; yet some Men suppose themselves happy and secure enough, provided, they escape all harm from Enemies, not regarding *Xenophon's* Judgment, whom they ought to credit in this Matter, that every Man, endowed with common Sense and Understanding, may (if he please) make his opposites very useful and profitable to him.

Because then we cannot live in this World out of the Neighbourhood of such as will continually labour to do us injury, or oppose us; Let us search out some way, whereby this advantage and profit from Enemies may be acquired.

The best experienc'd Gard'ner cannot so change the Nature of every Tree, as that it shall yield pleasant and well tasted Fruit; neither can the craftiest Huntsman tame every Beast? One therefore makes the best use he can of his Trees; the other of his Beasts: Although the first perhaps are barren and dry; the latter, wild and ungovernable. So Sea water is unwholesome, and not to be drank; yet it affords Nourishment to all sorts of Fish, and serves as it were for a Chariot to convey those, who visit Foreign Countries. The Satyrist at first imagined the fire

would

would have kissed him in its embraces, but *Prometheus* the Tragædian bids him take heed, else he might have cause to lament the loss of his beard, if he came too near that, which burns

*Fire the all it touches. *Yet this very fire is a most
most dan- beneficial thing to Mankind ; it bestows upon
gerous, us the blessings both of Light and Heat : and
and yet serves those, who know how to use it, for the
the most most excellent Instrument of Mechanic Arts. Di-
useful Ele- rected by these examples, we may be able to
ment. take right measures of our Enemies considering
that by one handle or other, we may lay hold
of them for the use and benefit of our Lives ;
though otherwise they may appear very un-
tractable, and hurtful to us.

There are many things which, when we have obtained them by much labour and sweat, become nauseous, ungrateful, and directly contrary to our inclinations : But there are some

* Some you know who can turn the very *Indisposition
benefit of their Bodies into an occasion of rest and free-
may be dom from business : And hard Pains, that have
gathered fallen upon many Men, have rendred them
from the only the more robust, well-breath'd through vi-
worst Ac. gorous Exercise. There are others, who, as *Di-*
cidents of *ogenes* and *Crates* did, have made banishment
Life. from their Native Country, and loss of all their
Goods, a means to pass out of a troublesom
world, into the quiet and serene state of Philo-
phy, and mental Contemplation : So the Stoic
Zeno welcom'd the good Fortune, when he
heard the Ship was broken, wherein his Adven-
tures were ; because she had reduced him to a
torn Coat ; to the Safety and Innocence of a
mean and low Condition. For as some Crea-
tures of strong Constitutions, eat Serpents, and
digest

digest them well ; nay, there are some, whose Stomachs can by a strange, powerful heat concoct Shells or Stones : So on the contrary there are the weak and diseased, who loath even Bread and Wine, the most agreeable, and best supports of human Life.

The Foolish and Inconsiderate spoil the very Friendships they are engaged in : * But the Wise and Prudent make good use of the Hatred and Enmity of Men against them : To those then, who are discreet and cautious, the most malignant and worst part of Enmity, becomes advantageous and useful. But what is this you talk of all this while ? An Enemy is ever diligent and watchful, to contrive Stratagems, and lay Snares for us, not omitting any opportunity, whereby he may carry on his malicious purposes : * He lays Siege to our whole Life, and turns Spy into the most minute action of it : Not as *Linceus* is said to look into Oaks and Stones, but by arts of insinuation he gets to the knowledge of our Secrets, by our bosom Friend, domestic Servant, and intimate Acquaintance : As much as possibly he can, he enquires, what we have done, and labours to dive into the most hidden Counsels of our minds. Nay, our Friends do often escape our notice, either when they dye, or are sick, because we are careless, and neglect them ; but we are apt to examin, and pry curiously into the very dreams of our Enemies.

Now our Enemy (to gratifie his ill-will towards us) doth acquaint himself with the infirmities both of our Bodies and Minds, with the Debts we have contracted, and with all the differences that arise in our Families, all which he knows

* Some of the best Rules and Measures of Life are to be learn'd from Enemies.

* Enemies are more sharp sighted, than Friends in discovering our Faults.

* The
foundati-
on of a
good Go-
vernment
over a
Man's self,
is to be
laid in the
command
of the Pas-
sions.

knows as well, if not better than our selves :
He sticks fast to our faults, and chiefly makes
his invidious Remarks upon them ; nay our
most blamable actions, our most depraved affecti-
ons, that are the worst distempers of our Minds
are always the Subjects of his enquiry ; just as
Vultures pursue putrid flesh, noisom and cor-
rupted Carcasses , because they have no per-
ception of those that are sound and in health :
So our Enemies catch at our failings, and then
they spread them abroad by uncharitable and
ill natured Reports.

Hence we are taught this useful Lesson for
the direction and managment of our Conver-
sations in the World, that we be circumspect
and wary in every thing we speak or do, as if
our Enemy alway stood at our Elbows, and o-
verlook'd every Action : Hence we learn to
lead blameless and inoffensive Lives : * This will
beget in us vehement desires, and earnest en-
deavours of restraining disorderly Passions : This
will fill our Minds with good thoughts and me-
ditations ; and with strong resolutions to pro-
ceed in a vertuous and harmless course of Life.

For as those Commonwealths and Cities know
best how to value the happiness of having good
and wholesom Laws ; as they do most admire,
and love the safety of a quiet and peaceable con-
stitution of things, who have been harrass'd
by unnatural Wars, or have endured long
Sieges, so those Persons whom that wisdom
hath brought to live soberly, which the fear
and awe of Enemies hath infused, hath taught
to condemn no Man, and in all their behavi-
our to demean themselves courteously, are by
degrees (they know not how) drawn into a ha-
bit

bit of living so, as to offend no body, and their manners are compos'd and fix'd in their obedience to vertue by custom and use. * For they always carry in their Minds that saying of *Homer*, if we act any thing amiss, *Priam* will laugh at us, and all his Brood: Our Enemies will please themselves, and scoff at our defects; therefore we will do nothing that is ridiculous, sinful, base or ignoble lest we become a laughing stock to such as do not love us.

* Moral Philosophy, and the practice of vertue, was our Authors chief aim, because it conduc'd most to the benefit of human life.

In the Theatre we often see great Artists in Music and Singing very supine and remiss, doing nothing as they should, whilst they play or sing alone, but whenever they challenge one another, and contend for Mastery; they do not only rouse up themselves, but they tune their Instruments more carefully, they are more curious in the choice of their strings, and they try their Notes in frequent, and more Harmonious Conforts: * Just so a Man, who hath an Adversary perpetually to rival him in the well ordering of his Life and Reputation, is thereby rendred more prudent in what he does; looks after his Actions more circumspectly, and takes as much care of the accurateness of them, as the Musitian does of his Lute or Organ. For Evil hath this peculiar Quality in it, that it dreads an Enemy, more than a Friend. For this cause *Nasica*, when some thought the Roman affairs were established for ever in peace and safety, after they had raz'd *Carthage*, and enslav'd *Greece*; declares, that even then they were in the greatest danger of all, and most likely to be undone, because there were none left, whom they might still fear, and stand in

* A good life compar'd to Music; for they, who make vertue the scope of their Actions proceed in Harmony and Order.

*Our Author had rather that it should be said, there never was a Man called *Plutarch*, than that others should report he was prone to Anger or Revenge on the least occasions.

some awe of. * And here may be inserted that wise and facetious Answer of *Diogenes* to one that ask'd him, how he might be reveng'd of his Enemy: the only way, says he, to gall and fret him effectually, is, for your self to appear a good and an honest Man. The common People are generally envious, and are vex'd in their Minds, as oft as they see the Cattle of those they have no kindness for, their Dogs, or their Horses in a thriving Condition: they sigh, grin, set their Teeth, and shew all the Tokens of a malicious temper, when they behold their Fields well Till'd, or their Gardens adorn'd and beset with Flowers: If these things make 'em so restless and uneasy, what dost thou think they would do, what a Torment would it be to them, if thou shouldst demonstrate thy self in the Face of the World to be in all thy carriage a Man of impartial Justice, a sound understanding, unblameable Integrity, of a ready and eloquent speech, sincere and upright in all your dealings, sober and temperate in all that you eat or drink; ever enjoying such a Privacy within your self, such a reservedness of Mind, as may supply you with good and seasonable advice upon all occasions.

* *Pindar* was *Plutarch's* Countryman a Native of *Bæotia*.

Those that are conquered, saith * *Pindar*, must seal up their Lips; they dare not open their Mouths, no, not to mutter, or repine at their hard fate.

But all Men in these circumstances are not so restrained; but such chiefly as come behind their Opposites in the Practice of Diligence, Honesty, Greatness of Mind, Humanity and Beneficence: These are beautiful and glorious Vertues, that are too pure and great to be touch'd

touch'd by an ill Tongue; that stop the Mouths of Backbiters, and command them to be silent.

We must therefore make it our business to be better than other Men, if we would vex them that hate us: we must not reproach our Adversary for an effeminate and debauch Person, or one of a boorish and filthy Conversation: But instead of throwing this Dirt; we our selves must be remarkable for a steady vertue, and a well-govern'd behaviour: we must speak the truth, * carry our selves civilly and justly to-
 wards all, who hold any correspondence, or maintain any Commerce with us. But if at any time a Man is so transported by Passion, as to utter any bitter words; he must take heed, that he himself be not chargeable for those crimes for which he upbraids others: He must scend into himself, examin, and cleanse his own Breast, that no putrefaction, nor rottenness be lodged there: Otherwise he will be condemn'd, as the Physitian is by the Tragædian, for pretending to heal other Men's distempers, at the same time, in which his own fores ran, and stank in every ones Nostrils.

*Courteousness and Humanity recommended to the Practice of all Men.

If a Man should jeer you, and say, that you are a Dunce, and Illiterate: upon this motive you ought to apply your Mind to the taking of pains in the study of Philosophy, and all kinds of Learning: If he abuses you for a Coward; than raise up your Mind to a Couragious Manliness, and an undaunted boldness of Spirit: If he tells you, you are lascivious and wanton; this scandal may be wiped off by having your Mind barr'd up against all Impressions of Lust, and your discourse free from the least obscenity. These are allowable Returns, and the most

cutting strokes you can give your Enemy : there being nothing that carries in it more baseness and dishonour, than that Scandalous Censures should fall back upon the Head of him, who was the first Author of them. For as the Beams of the Sun reverberated, do most severely affect and punish weak Eyes : So those calumnies are most vexatious and intolerable, which Truth retorts back upon the first Broachers of them. Insomuch that *Plato*, when he was in Company with any Persons that were guilty of unhandsom actions, was wont thus to reflect upon himself, and ask this Question; Am I of the like temper and disposition with these Men ? In like manner whosoever passes a hard censure upon another Man's life, should presently make use of * Self-examination, and enquire what his own is ; by which means he will come to know what his failings are, and how to amend 'em : Thus the very Censures and Back-bitings of his Enemy will redound to his advantage, when in it self this censorious humour is a very vain, empty and useless thing. For every one will laugh at, and deride that Man, who is at the same time crooked and bald-pated, when he makes sport with the natural deformities of his Brethren : * It being a very ridiculous, unaccountable thing to scoff at one another for those very imperfections, for which you your self may be abused : As *Leo Byzantinus* replied upon the crooked Man, who in Drollery reflected on the weakness of his Eyes : You mock me for that, to which Mankind are liable, and they cannot help it ; which is true, and as plain, as the Bunch on your Back.

* The Examination of a Man's Self, the best way to reform his Manners.

* Natural deformities not to be derided.

Where;

Wherefore no Man should arraign another of Adultery, when he himself is addicted to a more Bestial Vice : neither may one Man justly accuse another of Extravagancy or Looseness, when he himself is Stingy and Covetous. *Alcmaeon* told *Adrastus*, that he was near a kin to a Woman that kill'd her Husband : to which *Adrastus* gave a very pat and sharp answer: Thou with thy own hands didst murder thy Mother. After the same Sarcastical way of jesting, did *Domitius* ask *Crassus* : whether he did not weep for the death of the *Lamprey* that was bred in his Fish-pond : To which *Crassus* makes this present reply, did not you also cry grievously, when you carried out three Wives to their Burial ?

Whence we may infer, that it behoves every Man, who takes upon him to correct or censure another, not to be too clamorous or merry upon his faults, nor to be guilty of any such crime, as may expose him to the Chastisement and Reproach of others. For the great God seems to have given that Commandment of, *Know thy Self*, to those Men more especially, who are apt to make Remarks upon other Men's Actions, and forget themselves : So, as *Sophocles* hath well observed, they often hear that which they would not, because they allow themselves the liberty of talking what they please.

This is the use that may be lawfully made of censuring and judging our Enemies ; that be sure we may not be culpable for the same misdemeanours which we condemn in them : On the contrary, we may reap no less advantage from our being judged and censured by our

* A very
remarkable obser-
vation of
*Anti-
sthenes*.

Enemies : In this case *Antisthenes* spake incomparably well * that if a Man would lead a secure, and unblameable Life ; it was necessary that he should have either very ingenuous and honest Friends, or very bad Enemies : because the first by their kind Admonitions would keep him from sinning ; the latter by their evil words, and vehement Invectives.

But so far as in these times Friendship is grown almost speechless, and hath left off that freedom it did once use : When Flattery and Friendly Counsel is forced to hold its Tongue : Therefore we must expect to hear Truth only from the Mouths of Enemies. As *Telephus*, when he could find no Physician that he could confide in, as his Friend, thought then, his Adversaries Lance would most probably heal his wound : So he, that hath no Friend to give him advice, and to reprove him in what he acts amiss, must bear patiently the rebukes of an Enemy, and thereby learn to amend the Errours of his ways ; considering seriously the object, which these severe censures aim at, and not what the Person is, who makes them. For as he, who designed the death of *Prometheus* the *Thessalian*, instead of giving the fatal blow, only launch'd a swelling that he had, which did really preserve his Life, and freed him from the hazzard of approaching Death : just so may the harsh reprehensions of Enemies cure some Distempers of the Mind, that were before either not known or neglected, though these angry Speeches do originally proceed from Malice and Ill-will. But many, when they are accused of a Crime, do not consider whether they are guilty of the matter alledged against them,

them, but are rather solicitous, whether the Accuser hath any thing more to lay to their Charge ; like the Combatants in a Match at Wrestling, they take no care to wipe off the dirt that sticks upon them ; but they go on to besmear themselves, and in their mutual struglings they wallow and tumble into more dirt and filthiness.

It is a matter of greater importance and concernment to a Man, when he is lash'd by the slanders of an Enemy, by living * *vertuously* * A *ver-* to prevent and avert all objections that *tuous Life* may be made against his Life, than it is, to *is the safe-* scour the spots out of his Cloaths, when they *est protection a-* are shewn him. For if any Man with oppro- *gainst* brious Language object to you Crimes you *Scandal* know nothing of, you ought to enquire into *and evil* the causes and reasons of such false accusations : *censuring.* whereby you may learn to take heed for the future, and to be very wary, lest unwittingly you should commit those offences that are unjustly attributed to you. As *Lacydes*, King of the *Argives*, was abused, as if he were an effeminate Person, because he wore his Hair long, used to dress himself neatly, and his Meen was Sinical ; so *Pompey*, though he was very far from any effeminate softness, yet was reflected upon, and jeer'd for being used to scratch his head with one of his Fingers. *Craffus* also suffered much in the like kind, because sometimes he visited a Vestial Virgin, having a design to purchase of her a little Farm that lay conveniently for him : So *Posthumia* was suspected of unchast Actions, because she would often be very cheerful, and discourse freely in Men's Company : But she was found clear of

all manner of guilt in that nature : nevertheless at her dismissal *Spurius Minucius* the Priest gave her this good Admonition, that her words should be always as pure, chaste and modest as her Life was. *Themistocles*, though he had offended in nothing, yet was suspected of Treachery by *Pausanias*, because he corresponded familiarly with him, and used every day to send him Letters and Messengers.

Whenever then any thing is spoken against you, that is not true, do not pass it by, or despise it, because it is false, but forthwith examine your self, and consider, what you have said, or done ; what you have ever undertaken, or what Converse you have had, that may administer a just occasion of Reproof, and when they are discovered, to decline for the future all things that may provoke any reproachful, or foul Language from others.

For if Troubles and Difficulties, into which some Men fall, either by chance, or through their own inadvertency and rashness, may teach others what is fit and safe for them to do, as *Meropa* says in the Comedy ; though Fortune had taken from her all that was of value, and worth to her, yet she had rewarded her with the gift of Wisdom and Caution for the time to come : Why should not we take an Enemy for our Tutor, who will instruct us *gratis* in those things we knew not before : For an Enemy sees and understands more in matters relating to us, than our Friends do ; because in *Plato's* Opinion, Love is blind, especially in discerning the imperfections of the thing beloved : But Spite, Malice, Ill-will, Wrath and Contempt talk much, are very inquisitive and quick-

quick-sighted : When *Hiero* was upbraided by his Enemy for having a stinking Breath : at his return home, he demanded of his Wife, why she had not acquainted him with it ? The innocent good Woman makes this answer, I thought all Men's Breath had that smell. For those things in Men, that are perceptible by sense, that belong to the Body, and are conspicuous to all, are sooner understood what they are from the information of Enemies, than of Friends and Acquaintance.

Furthermore ; * an exact government of the Tongue, is a strong Evidence of a good mind, and no inconsiderable part of Vertue : But since every Man naturally is desirous to propagate his conceits, and without a painful force cannot smother his resentments ; it is no easie task to keep this unruly Member in due subjection ; unless such impetuous affections, as Anger is, be thoroughly subdued, by much exercise, care and study : for these are the passions that agitate the Spirits, and swell the Heart, so that they cannot easily be composed or kept quiet : the retentive faculty is weakn'd, and words slip out of the Mouth, before the Speaker is aware of it : when * Anger, and such untoward affections prevail, the mind lies naked, and all its secrets are exposed ; it being no less feasible to check Lightning, or confine a whirlwind, than keep within due compass the exorbitant motions of a Soul, wherein reason hath lost its Command. But although our Speech and Discourse may be esteem'd by some as a slight and trivial matter ; yet our Tongue is the doubtful Engine of Good and Evil ; and is apt to produce the greatest mischiefs and benefits

* The government of the Tongue, an admirable Vertue.

Anger is unbecoming a Wiseman.

benefits to Mankind, according as it is rightly, or perversly weilded : For Divine *Plato* tells us, that both God and Man do inflict the heaviest punishments upon the Treasons and Seditious of the Tongue, upon all the evacuations of bad Humors through the Mouth.

On the other side, when a Man by silence hath gained a perfect conquest over his Mind, that used to fly out in frothy expressions ; over wrath, that burn'd in his Breast ; over the rancorous impostums of Spite and Malice ; and over Lust, that used to foam out in lewd discourse ; then he is at peace within himself, and gives no offence to others. This gift of silence doth not only, as *Hippocrates* hath Physically observed, extinguish Thirst, but, it bears up against all manner of Slanders, with the constancy of *Socrates*, and the courage of *Hercules* : who was no more concerned than a Fly, at what others either said or did. Neither can any thing be a greater instance of Wisdom and Manhood, than for a Man to bear silently, and quietly the foulest revilings of an Enemy, taking as much care not to provoke him, as he would take to sail safely by a dangerous Rock. And whosoever is thus accustomed to endure patiently the Scoffs of an Enemy, he will, without any disturbance or trouble, bear with the chidings of a Wife, the Rebukes of a Friend, or the sharper Reproofs of a Brother : when a * Father or Mother corrects you, you

* Parents will not be refractory, or stubborn under the
had in Rod : *Xantippe*, though she was a Woman of a
those days very angry and troublesom Spirit, could never
the power of Life and Death over their Children.

move

move * *Socrates* to a passion : By being used to bear patiently this heavy sufferance at home, he was ever unconcern'd, and not in the least moved by the most scurrilous, and abusive Tongues he met withal abroad. For it is much better to overcome boistrous passions, and to bring the Mind into a calm and even frame of Spirit, by contentedly undergoing the Scoffs, Outrages and Affronts of Enemies, than to be stirr'd up to Choler or Revenge by the worst they can say or do. Thus in the patient and submissive bearing of Evil, you may demonstrate to the World, that you are Master of your self; that you are above the reach of its Animosities; and that you have Power sufficient to vanquish all kinds of injuries, and to keep up a gentle and meek temper, in defiance of all the Artillery that is planted against you. Integrity, magnanimity and goodness of disposition are indeed more conspicuous in the exercise of friendship: For it is not more honourable and vertuous to do a Friend a kindness, as it is unworthy and base to omit this good office, when he stands in need of it: * And it is an eminent piece of humanity, and a manifest token of a nature truly generous, to put up the affronts of an Enemy at that time, when you have a fair opportunity to revenge them. For whosoever Sympathizes with his Enemy in his affliction, relieves him in his necessities, is ready to assist his Family if they desired it; if there be any one that will not love this Man for his Compassion, and highly commend him for his commends to us: who was a man of confirmed probity; he is frequent in commending what he can, and every where appears candid.

* The remarkable patience of *Socrates*, which *Socrates* and *Plato* were the Philosophers most admired and followed by *Plutarch*.

* We are to render good for evil, and not return evil for evil. This great precept of Christianity our Author

Charity,

Charity, he must have a Heart made of Adamant or Iron, capable of no sensible or rational Impression.

When *Cæsar* made an Edict, that the Statues of *Pompey*, which were tumbled down, should be rebuilt, and restored to their former beauty and magnificence: *Tully* tells him, that by setting up again *Pompey's* Statues, he had erected one for himself an everlasting Monument of praise and honour to After-ages. So that we must give to every one his due; to an Enemy such respect and honour as he truly deserves: Thus a Man that praises his Enemy for his real deserts, shall himself obtain the more honour by it, and when ever he shall correct or censure him, he will be credited in what he does, because every one will believe that he does it out of a dislike, and a just abhorrence of his Vice, and not of his Person.

* The
praising
of Enemies a
good preservative
against
Envy.

* By this practice we shall be brought at length to perform the most honorable and worthy actions: For he, who is wont to praise and speak the best things of his Enemies, will never repine at the prosperity or success of his friends and acquaintance: He is never troubled, but rather rejoices when they thrive and are happy: and what vertue can any Man exercise, that will be more profitable and delightful to him than this, which takes away from him the bitterness of Malice, and doth not only break the Teeth of Envy, but by teaching him to rejoice at another mans felicity, doth double his own enjoyment and satisfactions. In Cities and Countries many things although they are bad and evil in themselves, yet have become necessary, and by long custom and prescription

prescription have obtained the validity of a Law : So that it is not easy to root them out, even by those who thereby suffer much harm ; just so doth enmity usher into the Mind a long train of Vices, meagre Envy coupled with grim hatred, restless jealousy and suspicion, unnatural joy at other Mens miseries, and a long remembrance of injuries : Fraud, deceit and snares joyned to these forces of the Devil, work infinite mischiefs in the World, yet they appear as no evils at all, when they are exerted against an Enemy : By these means they make a deep entrance into the Mind ; they get fast hold of it, and are hardly shaken off : So that unless we forbear the practice of these ill qualities towards our Enemies, they will be frequent acts become so habitual to us, as that we shall be apt to make use of them to the manifest wrong and injury of our Friends : Wherefore if * *Pythagoras* was highly esteemed for instructing his Disciples to avoid all manner of Cruelty against Beasts themselves ; so that he himself would redeem them out of their Captivity, either out of the Net of the Fowler, or the Fisherman ; if he forbad his followers to kill any tame Creature : * It is much better, sure, and more manly in our differences with Men, to shew our selves generous, just and detesters of all falshood ; to moderate and correct all base, unworthy and hurtful passions ; that in all our conversation we may be open-hearted, and that we may not seek to over-reach or deceive others in any of our dealings.

For *Scaurus* was a professed Enemy to, and an open accuser of, *Domitius*, whereupon a

* treacherous

* *Pythagoras* his good advice to his Schollars.

* Our Author was in life sociable and pleasant, a lover of sober and innocent conversation.

* A just
reward of
Treachery.

* treacherous servant of *Domitius* comes to *Scaurus* before the cause was to be heard, and tells him, that he had a secret to communicate to him in relation to the present suit, which he knew not of, and might be very advantagious on his side. Yet *Scaurus* would not permit him to speak a word, but apprehended him, and sent him back to his Master. * The People of *Rome* made *Cato* their great example and pattern, according to which they managed their several Accusations and Suits: As he acted against his adversary *Muræna*, so did they against theirs: They used to enquire of him, whether on this or that day, he would bring on his Cause and have a Hearing; which if he refused to do, they were content and went their way; This was a plain demonstration of the extraordinary deference and honour they paid to him; that he should be the common Standard of what they ought to do according to the Rules of Moderation and Sobriety.

* The
People
did conform
their actions
to the
practice
of *Cato*.

But this is the greatest, and by far the most illustrious instance of vertue, that we accustom our selves to deal justly and uprightly with our Enemies; then we shall not fail to behave our selves so towards our Friends. For as *Simonides* was wont to take notice, that there was no Lark without its Crest: So the disposition of Men is naturally pregnant with strife, suspicion and envying; chiefly theirs, who, as *Pindar* observes, are without understanding, and have no solid judgment in things: No Man can do any thing that will tend more to his own profit, and the preservation of his peace, than utterly to purge out of his mind these corrupt affections, and cast them off as the very sink of

of all iniquity, that they may create no more mischief between him and his friends. This *Onomademus*, a judicious and wise Man, understood well, who, when he was of the prevailing side in a civil commotion at *Chios*, gave this counsel to his friends, that they should not quite destroy or drive away those of the adverse party; but let some abide there, for fear they should begin to fall out among themselves, as soon as their Enemies were all out of the way: Therefore if these uneasie dispositions of the Mind be spent and consumed upon Enemies, they would never molest or disquiet our friends. Neither doth *Hesiod* approve of one Potters envying another, or that a Neighbour and Relation should resent it ill, that his Brother prospers, and is successful in the World. * But * A way if there be no other way whereby we may be to suppressed Envy and Strife; we may suffer our minds to vent these passions upon the prosperity of our Enemies, when all and give a little loose to our anger that way. others fail. For as Gard'ners that have knowledge and experience in Plants, expect their Roses and Violets should grow the better by being set near Leeks and Onyons; because all the sower juices of the Earth are conveyed into these: So an Enemy by attracting to himself our vicious and peevish qualities, may render us less humourfom, more candid and ingenious to our friends that are in a better, or more happy state than our selves.

Wherefore let us enter the Lists with our Enemies, and contend with them for true Glory, lawful Empire, and just Gain: Let us not so much debase our selves, as to be troubled
and

* The only Strife we are to have with Enemies, is to excel them in Virtue.

and fret at any possessions they enjoy more than we have. * Let us rather carefully observe those good qualities wherein our enemies excel us ; so that by these motives we may be excited to out-do them in honest diligence, indefatigable industry, prudent caution and exemplary sobriety : As *Themistocles* complain'd that the Victory *Miltiades* got at *Marathon*, would not let him sleep. But whosoever views his adversary exalted far above him in the happiness and wealth of this World, more eminent in the administration of public affairs, or in the favour of great Men, and doth not put forth all his strength and power to get before him in these things ; this Man commonly pines away, and by degrees sinks into the sloth and misery of an envious and unactive Life.

And we may observe, that envy and hatred do raise such Clouds in the understanding, that a Man shall not be able to pass a right judgment concerning things which he hates : But whosoever with an impartial Eye beholds, and with a sincere Mind judges of the life and manners, discourses and actions of his Enemy : He will soon understand, that many of those things that raise his envy, were gotten by honest care, a discreet providence and vertuous deeds : Thus the love of honourable and brave actions may be kindled and advanced in him. An idle and lazy course of life may be contemned and forsaken : But if our Enemies arrive at high places in the Courts of Princes, and by flattery or frauds, by bribery or gifts : We should not be troubled at it, but rather pleased in comparing our undisguised and honest way of living with theirs that is quite contrary. For *Plato* who

who was a competent Judge, was of opinion, that * virtue was a more valuable Treasure than all the Riches above, or all the Mines under the Earth.

*Virtue
in com-
parison
with the
best

So *Solon* believed, who was wont to say, he would not exchange the enjoyment of virtue for the most popular applauses in Theaters; the lofliest Seats among Eunuchs, Concubins and Noblemen. For nothing that is worth any ones appetite, nothing that is handsome or becoming a Man, can proceed from that which is in its self evil and base. But as *Plato* repeats once and again, the Lover cannot see the faults of the Thing or Person that he loves, and we apprehend soonest what our Enemies do amiss: However the Laws of Reason and Humility oblige us not to triumph at their Miscarriages, nor to be grieved when they do any thing that deserves praise and commendation: But we are bound to consider in both respects; how we may render our selves better than they are, by avoiding what is faulty and vicious in them; and be sure we shall not be the worse, if we imitate them in what they do excel.

things of
the World
doth ex-
ceed them
in true
value and
Worth.

Y Plu

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. I.

Consolation to *Apollonius*.

*Translated from the Greek by Matthew Morgan
A. M. of St. John's Colledge in Oxford.*

AS soon (*Apollonius*) as I heard the news of the untimely death of your Son, I fell sick of the same Grief with you, and shar'd your Misfortune with all the tenderness of Sympathy; as his qualifications made him dear to us, so they aggravated his loss, for he was a sweet and modest young Man, devout towards the Gods, obedient to his Parents, and obliging to his Friends, indeed doing all things that were just; but when the tears of his Funeral was scarcely dry, I thought it a time very improper to call upon you, and put you in mind that you should bear this accident like a Man; for when this unexpected affliction made you languish both in Body and Mind, I considered then that compassion was more seasonable than advice; for the most skilful Physicians do not put a sudden stop to a flux of Humours, but give them time to settle, and then foment the swelling by softning and bringing it to an Head with Medicines outwardly applied; so now that a competent time is past (time which brings all things to maturity) since the first surprize of your Calamity, I believed I should do an acceptable piece of Friendship, if I should now comfort you with those Reasons which may lessen your grief, and silence your complaints:

*Soft words alleviate a wounded Heart,
If you in time will mitigate the smart.*

Euripides hath said wisely to this purpose ;

Our Applications should suited be

Unto the Nature of the Malady ;

Of sorrow we should wipe the tender Eyes,

But the immoderate weeper should chastise.

For of all the Passions which move and afflict the mind of Man, sorrow in its Nature is the most grievous ; in some it hath produced madness, others have contracted incurable diseases, and some out of the vehemence of it, have laid violent hands upon themselves ; therefore to be said, even to an indisposition, for the death of a Son, is a resentment that proceeding from a principle of Nature is out of our power to prevent : I dislike those who boast so much of an inflexible temper which they call indolence, it being such a disposition which never happens, and we can scarce conceive ; for it extinguisheth that sociable love we ought to have for one another, and which it is so necessary above all things to preserve : But to mourn excessively, and to accumulate grief, I do affirm it to be altogether unnatural, and results from a deprav'd Opinion we have of things ; therefore we ought to shun it as destructive in it self, and unworthy of a vertuous Man ; for a moderation in our passions is the the most commendable ; it were to be wish'd saith Crantor the Academic, that we could not be sick at all, but when a Distemper seizeth us, 'tis requisite we should have a sense whether any of our Members be pluck'd or cut off ; for that talk'd of Apathy can never happen to a Man without great detriment ; for as there the Body, so here the very Mind would be wild and savage : Therefore in such accidents, 'tis but reasonable that they who are in their right Senses, should avoid both extremes, of

Y 2

being

being without any passion at all, and having too much; for as the one argues a Mind that is obstinate and fierce, so the other doth one that is soft and effeminate: He therefore hath cast up his accounts the best, who confining himself within due bounds, hath that ascendant over his temper as to bear prosperous and adverse Fortune, which soever 'tis that happens to him in this life, with the same equality: He puts on those Resolutions as if he was in a popular Government where Magistracy is decided by lot; if it luckily falls to his share, he obeys his Fortune, but if it passeth him, he doth not repine at it; so we must submit to the dispensation of human Affairs, being uneasie and querulous; those who cannot do this without want prudence and steadiness of Mind to bear more happy Circumstances; for amongst other things which are prettily said, this is one remarkable precept:

*If Fortune prove extravagantly kind,
Above its temper do not raise thy mind;
If she disclaims thee like a jilting Dame,
Be not dejected, but be still the same,
Like Gold unchang'd amidst the hottest flame.*

For it is the part of a wise and well educated Man, as not to be transported beyond himself with any prosperous Events: So when the Scene of Fortune changeth, to observe still the comeliness and decency of his Morals; for it is the business of a Man that lives by Rule, either to prevent an evil that threatens him, or when it is come to qualifie its malignity, and make it as little as he can, or put on a Masculine brave Spirit, and so resolve to endure it; for there are four ways that Prudence concerns her self about any thing that is good; she is either industrious to acquire, or careful to preserve, she either augments, or useth it well: These are the measures of Prudence, and consequently those of all other Vertues,

by

by which we ought to square our selves in either Fortune.

For no Man lives who always happy is.

And by *Jove* you should not hinder what ought to be done ;

Those things which in their Nature ought to be.

For as amongst Trees some are very thick with Fruit, and some bear none at all ; amongst living Creatures some are very prolific, and some barren, and as in the Sea there is alternate vicissitude of calm and tempests ; so in human life there are many and various circumstances which distract a Man into divers changes of Fortune ; one considering this matter, hath not said much from the purpose :

Think not thy self (O Aterus Son) forlorn,

Thou always to be happy were not born ;

Even Agamemnon's self must be a shade,

For thou of frail materials art made :

Sorrow and joy alternately succeed,

'Spight of thy Teeth the Gods have so decreed.

These Verses are Menander's :

If thou (O Trophinus) of all Mankind,

Uninterrupted Happiness canst find ;

If when thy Mother brought thee forth with pain,

Didst this condition of thy Life obtain,

That only prosperous Gales thy Sails should fill,

And all things happen 'cording to thy will ;

If any of the Gods did so engage,

Such usage justly might provoke thy rage :

Matter for smart resentment doth afford ;

For the false Deity did break his word ;

But if thou unexcepted saw'st the Light
 Without a promise of the least delight ;
 For to deal plainly I must thee assure
 These things with temper then thou must endure.
 In short, and to say more, there's no one can,
 Which is a name of frailty, thou'rt a Man ;
 A Creature more rejoicing is not found,
 None more dejected creeps upon the Ground ;
 Though weak yet in Politic refines,
 Involves himself to intricate designs :
 With nauseous business he himself doth cloy,
 And so the pleasure of his Life destroy.
 In great pursuits thou never hast been crost,
 No disappointments have thy projects lost :
 Nay such hath been the mildness of thy fate,
 Hast no misfortune had of any rate ;
 If Fortune is at any time severe,
 Serene and undisturb'd thou must appear.

But though this be the state of all sublunary Things,
 yet such is the extravagant Pride and Folly of some
 Men, that if they are raised above the common by the
 greatness of their Riches or Functions of Magistracy, or
 if they arrive to any eminent Charge in the Common-
 wealth, they presently swell with the Titles of their Ho-
 nour, and threaten and insult over their Inferiors ; never
 considering what a treacherous Goddess Fortune is: How
 easie a Revolution 'tis for things that are uppermost to
 be thrown down from their height, and humble things
 to be exalted ; and these changes of Fortune are perfor-
 med quickly, and in the swiftest moments of time.

*Like to a Wheel that constantly goes round,
 One part is up whilst 'other's on the ground,*

But the most Sovereign remedy against sorrow is our
 Reason, and out of this Arsenal, we may arm our selves
 with

with defence against all the casualties of Life ; for every one ought to lay down this as a Maxim, that not only himself is mortal in his Nature, but that Life it self decays, and that things are easily changed into quite the contrary to what they are ; for our Bodies are made up of perishing ingredients : our Fortunes and our Passions too are subject to the same mortality, indeed all things in this World are in perpetual Flux.

Which no Man can avoid with all his care.

It is an expression of *Pindar*, that we tread the dark bottom of Hell with necessities as hard as Iron ; and these are the words of *Euripides* :

*Riches their proper nature is decay,
And their duration is but for a day.*

These are hislikewise,

*From small beginnings our misfortunes grow,
And little rubs our Feet do overthrow ;
A Smile is quickly chang'd into a frown.
Low things go up, and lofty things go down.*

Demetrius Phalerus affirms, that it was truly said ; but he had been more in the right, if for one day he had put only a moment of time.

*Such is the nature of all things below,
In a dull circulation they do flow,
Like unto Fruits in Cultivated Earth
One dies, and t'other hath a Fruitful Birth,
For here an hopeful blossom doth arise,
There the Leaves sicken, and the Flower dies.*

And *Pindar* hath it in another place, What is it to be Some-body or No-body ? A Man is the Dream of a Shadow : He us'd an artificial and very perspicuous Hyperbole

perbole to draw human Life in its genuine colours; for what is weaker than a Shadow? Or what words can be found out so opposite whereby to express a Dream? *Crantir* hath something Consonant to this, who condoling *Hippocles* upon the loss of his Children speaks after this manner: These are the things which all the old Philosophers talk of, and have instructed us in; which though we do not agree to in every particular, yet this hath too sharp a truth in it, that our Life is painful and full of difficulties; and if it doth not labour with them in its own nature, yet we our selves have infected it with that corruption; for the Inconstancy of Fortune joyn'd us at the beginning our journey, and hath accompanied us ever since; so that it can produce nothing that is sound or comfortable unto us; and the better Portion was mingled for us as soon as we were born: For the principles of our Nature being mortal, is the cause that our Judgments is deprav'd; that Diseases, Cares and all those fatal Inconveniences afflict Mankind; but what need of this digression? only that we may be made sensible that it is no unusual thing if a Man be unfortunate; for we are all subject to the same calamity: For as *Theophrastes* saith, Fortune surprizeth us unawares, robs us of those things we have got by the sweat of our Industry, and spoils the gawdy appearance of a prosperous condition; and this she doth when she pleaseth, not being stinted to any periods of Time: These, and things of the like nature, 'tis easie for any Man to reason with himself, and to hearken to the sayings of ancient and wise Men; among whom Divine *Homer* is the chief, who sung after this manner:

*Of all the Creatures which the Earth doth breed,
None are so weak as those of human seed;
If he hath health and indolence of mind,
He thinks no adverse Fortune is behind.*

But

*But if a Tempest doth begin to blow,
He like the Winds impatient too doth grow;
And with such changes of the Mind doth live,
As the great Father of the Gods doth give.*

And in another place,

*To know our state, Tydides doth desire,
But why so nicely doth the Man enquire?
We bear resemblance unto Autumn Leaves,
Which of your Verdure every blast bereaves;
The little Beauties are discolour'd found,
And the Wind scatters them upon the Ground;
But in the Spring a new Succession's made,
Which in the Woods do cast a gloomy shade:
So one part of Mankind doth always die,
The other lives that frailty to supply.*

How prettily he manag'd this Image of human Life,
appears from what he hath said in another place:

*Tell why so much of wrangling Breath is spent,
When Man's the poor and wretched argument.
He like the frailty of a Leaf is made;
He looks as gay, and doth as quickly fade.
That very Earth is now his dark retreat,
Of which the Fruits he formerly did eat.
The vigour of his Years doth then decay,
And like to them he wither'd falls away.*

When Pausanias the King of Sparta was frequently bragging of his performances, and bidding the Lyric Poet in raillery, to give him some wise, musty Precept, he knowing the vain glory of him that spoke, admonish'd him to renumber that he was a Man: Philip the King of Macedon, when he had receiv'd three dispatches of good news at the same time: The First was, That his Chariots had won the Victory in the Olympic Games: The

Second,

Second, that his General *Parmenio* had overcome the *Dardarians* in fight: And the Third was, that his Wife *Olympias* had brought him forth an Heir. He lifting up his Eyes to Heaven passionately cry'd out, Propitious *Dæmon*, let the affliction be moderate by which thou intendest to be even with me for this complicated happiness. *Theramenes* one of the 30 Tyrants of *Athens*, when he alone was preserved from the Ruins of an House that fell upon the rest of his Friends as they were sitting at Supper, and all came about him to congratulate his escape, he broke out in an Emphatical Accent; Fortune, for what calamity dost thou reserve me? And not long after by the command of his fellow Tyrants, he was tormented to death. But *Homer* seems to vindicate a particular praise to himself, who brings in *Achilles* speaking thus to *Priam*, who was coming forth to ransom the Body of *Hector*,

*Suppress thy Sorrow Trojan, do not moan,
But chearfully resume thy antient Throne;
Thy sighs are idle, cannot ease thy pain,
And in cold Tears dost fruitlessly complain.
Tho Gods by lots do these misfortunes deal,
The evils they inflict, they do not feel;
For at the entrance of the heavenly gate,
Always two Vessels stand, and full of fate;
Jove out of these doth different gifts bestow,
The good from this, the ill from that doth flow.
Him whom the Thunderer doth mix his fate,
Always unhappy shall not be his state;
But the abandon'd wretch that hath the lot,
To have his Fortune drawn from t'other Pot.
Him Men despise: and all the Gods disdain,
And so wears out his tedious life in pain.*

Hesiod that was the next to him both in respect of time and reputation, fancied that all evils were shut up in a Box,

Box, and that Pandora opening of it, scatter'd all sorts of mischiefs, both through the Earth and Seas ;

*The cover of the Box she did remove,
And to fly out the crowding mischiefs strove ;
But slender hope upon the brims did stay,
Ready to vanish into Air away :*

*She with retrieve the Haggard in did put,
And on the Prisoner close the Box did shut ;
But plagues innumerable abroad did fly,
Infesting all the Earth, the Seas and Skie.
Diseases now with silent feet do creep,
Torment us waking, and afflict our sleep.
These Midnight Evils steal without a noise,
For Jupiter depriv'd them of their voice.*

After these the Comedian talking of those who bear afflictions uneasily, speaks consonantly to this purpose:

*If we in wet complaints could quench our grief,
At any rate we'd purchase our relief ;
With proffer'd Gold would bribe off all our fears,
And make our Eyes distil in precious tears :
But the Gods mind not Mortals here below,
Nor the least thought on your Affairs bestow ;
But with an unregarding Air pass by,
Whether our Cheeks be moist, or whether dry :
Unhappiness is always sorrows root,
And tears do hang from them like Cristal Fruit.*

And Dictys comforts Danae, who was bitter'y taking on after this manner ;

*Dost think that thy repinings move the Grave,
Or from its Faws thy dying Son can save ?
If thou would lessen it thy grief compare ;
Consider how unhappy others are :*

*How many bonds of slavery do hold ;
 How many of your Children robb'd grow old ;
 How sudden fate throws off th' usurp'd Crown,
 And in the dirt doth tread the Tyrant down.
 Let this with deep impression in thee sink,
 And on these Revolutions often think.*

He bids her consider the condition of those who have suffer'd great and little afflictions, and by such a parallel to comfort up her own distemper'd Mind : And here that opinion of *Socrates* comes in very pertinently, who thought that if all our Misfortunes were laid in one common heap where every one might chuse his portion, that most People would be contented with their own, and carry off those adversities they first brought : After this manner *Lyfimachus* the Poet allayed his resentments when he lost his Wife *Lyde* whom he tenderly lov'd : For he writ an Elegy upon her, which he called by her own Name, and in it he number'd up all the Calamities which have beset great Men, and so by the remembrance of other Mens sorrows, he asswaged his own. By this it may appear that he who comforts another macerating himself with Grief, and demonstrates to him by reckoning up their several Misfortunes, that he suffers nothing but what is common to him with other Men ; he takes the surest way to lessen the opinion he had of his condition, and brings him to believe that it is not altogether so bad as he took it to be : *Æschylus* also doth justly Reprimand those who think death to be an evil, declaring after this manner :

*Some as a thing injurious death do fly,
 But of all Mischiefs 'tis the remedy.*

And he very nicely imitated him who spoke thus ;
*Come, with impatience I expect thee, Death,
 And stop with thy obliging hand my breath :*

To thee as a Physician all resort,

And we through Tempests Sail into thy Port;

And it is great to speak this Sentence with Courage:

Who is a Slave? Who never thought of death.

And this:

No Pannic frights upon me ever fell,

And shadows never scare me, thanks to Hell.

But what is it at length in death that is so grievous and troublesome? for I know not how it comes to pass that when it is so familiar, and as it were related to us, it should seem so terrible; how can it be rational to admire if that cleaves asunder which is to be divided? If that melts whose nature is liquefaction? If that burns which is combustible, and so by a parity of reason, if that perisheth, whose Law of constitution was to be born that it might again corrupt? For when is it that death is not in us: For as *Heracles* saith, it is the same thing to be dead and alive, asleep and awake, a young Man and decrepit; for those alternately are chang'd one into another: For as a Potter can form the shape of an Animal out of his clay, and then as easily deface it, and can repeat this backwards and forwards as often as he pleaseth; so nature too fashion'd our Grand-fathers out of the same materials, next our Fathers, then us, one by a gradual descent flowing from another: For as the flood of our generation glides on without any intermission, and never stops, so on the contrary that of our corruption stagnates, and is a dead water, whether it be *Acheron* or *Cocytos*, which are called so by the Poets; so that the same cause which first shew'd us the light of the Sun, carries us down to infernal darkness, and in my mind, the Air which encompasseth us seems to be a lively Image of the thing; for it brings on the vicissitudes of night and day,

life

life and death, sleeping and waking ; and for this cause it is that life is called a fatal debt which our Fathers contracted, and we are bound to pay ; which is to be done calmly, and without any complaint when the Creditor demands it ; and by this means we shall shew our selves Men of sedate Passions, and I believe nature knowing the confusion and shortness of our life, doth industriously conceal the end of it from us, it making for our advantage ; for if we were sensible of it before hand, we should pine away with untimely sorrow, and anticipate one death by another : Therefore consider with what a torrent of cares thy life is overflown, and then wouldst thou grow angry with it, if thou didst undertake to number them ; and confirm that opinion which hath a vogue amongst some by the accession of thy own, that death is more desirable than life : *Simonides* hath gloss'd upon it after this manner ;

Our time is of a short and tender length,

Cares we have many, and but little strength.

Labours in crowds, push one another on,

And cruel destiny we cannot shun.

The casting of these lots is very just,

For good and bad lie in one common dust.

Pindar hath it so ;

The Gods unequal have us Mortals vex'd,

For to one good, two evils are annex'd :

They pay a single joy with double care,

And fools such dispensations cannot bear.

Sophocles so ;

That thou art Mortal, why dost thou complain ?

A Sign thou'rt ignorant of thy future gain.

And

And Euripedes so ;

*Dost thou not know the state of human things ?
A faithful Monitor thy instruction brings :
Inevitable death hangs o're our head,
And threatens falling by a doubtful thread.
There's no man can be certain over night,
If he shall live to see to morrows light.
Life without any interruption flows,
And the results of fate there's no man knows.*

If such then be the condition of human life as they speak of, why do we not rather applaud their good Fortunes who are freed from the drudgery of it, then pity and deplore them as some Mens folly prompts them to do? *Socrates* said, that Death was like either to a very deep sleep, or to a journey taken a great way, and for a long time, or to the utter extinction of Soul and Body ; and if we examin each of these comparisons, we shall find that death is not an evil upon any account ; for if death be sleep, and no hurt happens to those who are in that innocent condition, 'tis manifest that neither are the dead ill dealt with: To what purpose should I talk of that which is so tritely known amongst all, that the most profound sleep is always the sweetest? *Homer* particularly attests it ;

*His senses all becalm'd he drew his breath,
His sleep was sound and quiet like to death.*

And in another place he saith thus ;

*To call upon death's Brother he begins,
'Tis sleep, for they in nature are both twins.*

Representing the nature of the thing most expressly by such an illusion ; in another place he saith, death is made of Iron, thereby intimating to us that it is insensible, neither hath he spoken much amiss ;

*Who in this pretty Verse doth us assure,
That sleep is only death in Miniature.*

Diogenes the Cynic, when a little before his death he fell into a slumber, and his Physician rousing him out of it, ask'd him whether any thing ail'd him? He wisely answer'd nothing, Sir, only one Brother would prevent another, and sleep anticipate death. If death be like a journey, neither upon this account is it an evil, but rather the contrary; for certainly 'tis the Emphasis of happiness to be freed from the incumbrances of the flesh, and all those troublesome passions which attend it, which serve only to darken the understanding, and overspread it with all the folly that's incident to human nature: The very Body saith *Plato*, procures us infinite disquiet only to supply its daily necessities with food; but if any diseases are coincident, they hinder our contemplations, and stop us in our researches after truth: Besides it distracts us with irregular desires, fear and vain amours, setting before us so many fantastic Images of things, that what he said, truly happens to us, that with so many Avocations we can never be wise; for Wars, Popular Seditions and shedding of Blood by the Sword, are owing to no other original than this care of the Body, and gratifying its licentious Appetites; for we fight every thing to get riches, and these we acquire only to please the Body; so that those who are thus employ'd, have not leisure to be Philosophers, and after all, when we have retriev'd an interval of time to seek after truth, the Body officiously interrupts us, is so troublesome and importune, that we can by no means discern its nature: Therefore he sincerely shews us, that if we would clearly know any thing, we must divest our selves of the Body, and behold things intuitively with an abstracted Intellect; that at last we may attain that we so much desire, and which we do profess our selves the most partial admirers of,

of, which is wisdom : And this we cannot consummate-ly enjoy till after death, as common reason teacheth us ; if so be then that we can understand nothing clearly as long as we are clog'd with Flesh, one of these things must needs be, either that we shall never arrive to that knowledg at all, or only when we die, for when the Soul will exist by it self separate from the Body ; and whilst we are in this life, we shall then make the nearest advances towards it, when we shall have no more to do with the Body than what decency and necessity require ; that we break off all commerce with it, and keep our selves pure from its contagion, till God shall give us a final Release, then we shall be defæcated from all its follies, and discern all things as bright as our selves, even truth it self ; for it is not fit that what is clean should be corrupted by any thing that is contrary : Therefore if death only transports us to another place, 'tis not to be look'd upon as an evil, but rather an exceeding good. * The words of *Socrates* to his Judges, seem to me to be spoken even with Inspiration : To fear death (Gentlemen) is nothing else than to counterfeit the being wise when we are not so ; for he that fears death pretends to know what he is ignorant of ; for no Man is certain whether death be not the greatest good that can befall a Man, but they positively dread it, as if they were sure it was an evil ; agreeably to this said one after this manner :

*As *Plato* hath demonstrated.

Let no Man fear what doth his labours end.

For death sets us free even from the greatest evils : The Gods themselves bear witness to the truth of this, for many have obtain'd it as a gratuity from them : The less famous instances I will pass by, that I may not be prolix, and only mention those who are the most celebrated, and in all Mens Mouths : And in the first place, I will relate

what besel *Biton* and *Cliobus*, two *Athenian* young Men. They report that their Mother being the Priestess of *Juno*, and the time being come that she was to go up to perform the Rights of the Goddess, and those whose Office it was to draw her Chariot tarrying longer than usual; these two young Men harnessed themselves and took it up, and so carried their Mother to the Temple; she being extreemly taken with the Piety of her Sons, petition'd the Goddess that she would bestow upon them the best Present that could be given to Men, accordingly she cast them into deep sleep, out of which they never awoke, taking this way to recompense their filial zeal with death. *Pindar* writes of *Agamedes* and *Trophinius*, that after they had built a Temple at *Delfos*, they requested of *Apollo* a reward for their work, it was answered them, that they should have it within seven days; but in the mean while they were commanded to live freely, and indulge their genius; accordingly they obeyed the dictate, and the seventh night they died in their Beds. It is said also of *Pindar*, that when the Deputies of the *Boetians* were sent to consult the Oracle, he desired them to enquire of it which was the best thing amongst Men, and that the Priestess of the *Tripos* gave them this answer, That he could not be ignorant of it, if he was the Author of those Writings concerning *Agamedes* and *Triphonius*; but if he desired personally to know, it should in a little time be made manifest to him; and that *Pindar* hearing this, prepared himself for the stroak of Fate, and died in a short time after: Of *Euthymus* the *Italian*, there is this memorable story, that he died suddenly without any bodies knowing the cause of his death: His Father was *Elysus* the *Terinean*, who was a Man of the first condition for his estate and vertue, being rich and honourable, and this being his only Son and Heir to all his Fortune, which was very great, he had a strong jealousy upon him that he was poyson'd, and not knowing how he should come

to the information of it, he went into the Vault where they invoke the dead, and after having offered Sacrifice, as 'tis enjoyn'd by the Law, he slept in the place ; when all things were in a Mid-night silence he had this Vision : His Father appear'd to him, to whom after having related his lamentable misfortune, he earnestly desired the Ghost that he would assist him in finding out the cause ; he answered that he was come on purpose to do it : But first, saith he, receive from himself what he hath brought thee, and thereby thou wilt understand the reason of all thy sorrow : The person that the Father meant was very like to *Euthydous* both for years and stature, and the question being put to him who he was, he answered, *I am the Genius of thy Son* ; and at the same time reach'd out a Book to him, in which these Verses were written ;

'Tis Ignorance makes wretched Men to err,

Death did to happiness thy Son prefer.

We blest by fate, Euthynous do see,

So 'twas the better both for him and thee.

These are the stories which the Ancients tell us ; but lastly, if death be the entire dissipation of Soul and Body, which was the third part of *Socrates* his comparison, even upon this account too it cannot be an evil ; for this would produce a privation of sense, and consequently a compleat freedom from all sollicitude and care, and if no good, so no evil would befall us ; and as good, so evil must inhere in its subject after the same manner ; but that which is nothing, and wholly abolished out of the nature of things, neither of the two can happen to it ; therefore when Men die, they return to the same condition they were in before they were born : For as before we came into the World, we were neither sensible of good, nor afflicted with evil ; so it will be when we leave it, and as those things which preceded

our Birth, did not concern us, so neither will those things which are subſequent to our death ;

The dead ſecure from ſorrows ſafe do lie,

The ſame thing 'tis not to be born and die.

For 'tis the ſame ſtate of exiſtence after death as it was before we were born, unleſs perhaps you will make a difference between having no Being at all, and the utter extinction of it ; after the ſame manner that you make a diſtinction between an Houſe and a Garment, after they are ruin'd and worn out, and the time before the one was built, and the other made ; and if in this caſe there is no difference, 'tis plain that there is none between the ſtate before we were born, and that after we are dead : 'Tis elegantly ſaid by *Arceſilaus* that death which is called an evil, hath this peculiarly diſtinct from all that are thought ſo, that when 'tis preſent it gives us no diſturbance, but when remote and in expectation only, 'tis then that it afflicts us ; and indeed many out of the poornefs of their Spirit, and having entertained moſt injurious Opinions of it, have died even to prevent death. *Epicharmus* hath ſaid excellently to this purpoſe, that which was united in its parts is now diſjoyn'd, the Earth ſinks downwards, but the Spirit aſcends, Therefore there is nothing grievous in all this ; but that which *Creſphontes* in *Euripides* ſaith of *Hercules* ;

He now that in the ſhades below doth move,

Is not concern'd in what is done above.

I would have chang'd into theſe words ;

He now that dwels in darkneſs under ground,

Shares not thoſe evils which above are found.

This

This *Laconic* too is very noble ;

Others before and after us will be,

Whose age we're not permitted for to see.

And again,

These neither did live handsomly nor die,

Though both should have been done with decency.

But *Euripides* hath spoken incomparably well of these
who labour under daily indispositions ;

I hate the Man who studies to defeat

The power of death with artificial meat,

To baffle and prevent his fate does think,

And lengthens out his life with Magic drink.

Whereas when he a burden doth become,

Then he should die because he's troublesome.

Old Age in modesty should then give place,

And so make way unto a brisker race.

But *Merope* mov'd the Passions of the Theatre with these
Masculine expressions ;

My Sons by death are raviſh'd from my ſide ,

And I'm a Widdow who was once a Bride.

I am not thus ſelect'd to be croſs,

Others their Sons and Husbands too have loſt.

And we may not incongruously add these ;

Where is the fair one with her charming Eyes ?

Where's Cræſus who did Lydia Tyranniſe ?

Or where is Xerxes with his mighty pride,

Who with a Bridge did curb the raging tide ?

Inhabitants of darkneſs they became,

And only now are living in their flame.

Their riches having perished with their Bodies ; for
an untimely death from many doth extort groans and

passionate complaints ; but the way to dry up these sorrows is so expedite and easie, that every vulgar Poet hath prescribed it : Consider what consolation a *Comedian* puts in the Mouth of one who comforts another upon so sad an occasion ;

*If this with certainty thou couldst have known,
That fortune always would have kindness shown,
That nothing but what's good would him befall,
His death thou justly might'st untimely call :
But if calamities were imminent,
And death the fatal mischief did prevent ;
To give to things the character that's due ;
Death was the most obliging of the two.*

It therefore being uncertain whether it was for his advantage that he departed this life or no, and so was freed from all the miseries that attend it, his death is not so heinously to be repented, as if we had thereby lost all that we fancied we could enjoy in him whilst he was living : And *Amphiarus* the Poet doth not do amiss when he consoles the Mother of *Archemorus*, who was even sick with grief for the loss of her Son who died unexpectedly : He speaks ;

*There's no Man lives whom sorrow doth not seise,
Whose Body is not subject to disease ;
Our Children must be buried in the Earth,
There are materials to give others birth.
'Tis death at last that must wind up our fate,
And free us from a miserable state.
Our native dust doth claim us as its own,
Inevitable time will mow us down.
Necessity doth all our lots bestow ;
Determines whether we shall live or no.*

Those

*These sufferings don't deserve an Elegie ,
Which we by natures Laws establish'd see :
Nothing should grieve that can't avoided be.*

In the general every one should meditate seriously with himself, and have the concurrence of other Mens opinions with his own, that the longest life is not the best, but that which is the most vertuous, for that Musician is not to be commended, who plays upon variety of Instruments, nor that Orator that makes multiplicity of Speeches, nor the Pilot that conducts many Ships, but he of each faculty that doth one of them well ; for the beauty of a thing doth not consist in length of time, but in the vertue and seasonable moderation wherewith it is transacted ; this is that which is call'd happy and grateful to the Gods : And for this reason 'tis that Poets celebrate those, and propose them for examples, as the most excellent Men, and of Divine extraction, who have died before they have been old : As he for instance,

*Who was the darling of Almighty Jove,
Phœbus with warm embraces too did love.
Their kindness to their favorite was such,
The confines of Old Age he should not touch.*

And we see in every thing that preference is not given so much to Age as to Maturity ; for amongst Trees and Plants, those are accounted the most generous which bring forth abundance of fruit, and that early ripe : And amongst living Creatures too, those are the most valued which supply us with the accomodations of life in a short time : Besides, if we compare the space of our life with Eternity, we shall find no difference betwixt long and short ; for according to *Simonides*, Thousands and Millions of years are but as a point to what's Infinite, or rather the smallest part of that point. They report about *Pontus*, that there are some Creatures of such an

extempore Being, that the whole Term of their Life is confin'd within the space of a day, for they are brought forth in the Morning, are in the Prime of their existence at Noon, grow old at Night and then die: Dost thou think if these had the passions, and were endow'd with the reason of a Man, that they would be so affected, or that things would happen to them after the same manner as to us? That those who died before the Meridian would be lamented with tears and groans? Or that we should call them happy who liv'd their day out? For the measure of a Man's life is the well spending of it, and not the length; But such exclamations as these, the young Man ought not to be taken off so abruptly in the vigour of his years, are very frivolous, and proceed from a great weakness of Mind; for who is it that can say what a thing ought to be? But things have, are and will be practis'd, which some body or other will say they ought not to be done. But we do not come into this life to be Dogmatical and prescribe to it, but we must obey the Dictates of the Gods who govern the World, and submit to the establishments of Fate and Providence; for when they mourn over those who die so untimely, do they do it upon their own account, or upon that of the deceased? If upon their own, because they have lost that pleasure they thought they should have enjoy'd in them, or are depriv'd of that profit they expected, or that relief they flatter'd themselves they should receive from them in their old Age, then self-love and personal interest prescribe the measures of their sorrow; so that upon the result they do not love the dead so much as themselves, and what they apprehended to be beneficial for them; but if they lament upon the account of the deceased, that is a grief easily to be shaken off, if they only consider that by their being so, they are out of the Sphere of any evil that can reach them, believing a wise and ancient saying, that we should always augment what
is

is good, and extenuate the evil: Therefore if grief deserves that denomination, let us enlarge and make it as great as we can; but if it is number'd amongst the evils, as in truth it ought to be, let us endeavour all we can to suppress, make it as inconsiderable as we can, and at last utterly efface it: How easie this is to be done, I will make appear by an illustrious example of Consolation: They say that an ancient Philosopher came to the Queen *Arfinoe*, who was then sorrowful for the death of her Son, and discours'd her after this manner: At the time that *Jupiter* distributed honours, amongst his Under-Deities, it happen'd that the God of Pensiveness was absent, but came at last when all the dignities were dispos'd of, and then desir'd that he might have some share in the Promotions. *Jupiter* having not better vacancies left, bestow'd upon him sorrow and funeral Tears; he made this inference from the story: Therefore, saith he, as other Dæmons love and frequent those, who give them hospitable reception, so sadness will never come near you, if you do not give it encouragement, but if you carest it with those particular honours with it challengeth as its due, which are sighs and tears, it will have an unlucky affection for you, and will always supply you with fresh occasions, that the observance may be continued: He us'd this plausible Speech to buoy this great Woman out of her tears, and make her cast off her Vail: In short I would ask the Mourner, whether he designs to put an end to his grief, or that the anguish must have the same duration with his life? If this thou hast resolv'd, I must say thou hast cut out for thy self the most bitter infelicity in the World, and all through the stupidity and softness of thy Mind, but if thou hast fix'd on a period, why dost thou not presently change thy condition, and so free thy self from misery? The same reasons thou must use a great while hence, apply them now to unburden thy mind, and ease thy afflictions; and as in bodily distempers,

pers, the quickest remedy is the best, so the advantage thou must otherwise allow to time, bestow upon reason and instruction, and so cease to be unhappy. But 'tis objected the calamity was sudden, and I did not expect it; but thou ought'st to have done it, and consider'd upon the vileness and uncertainty of all human Affairs, that thy Enemies might not come suddenly upon thee, and take thee unawares. *Theseus* in *Euripedes* seems to be excellently well prepar'd for events of this nature: For he saith thus;

This wholesom precept from the wise I learn,

To think of misery without concern.

My meditating thoughts are always spent,

Either on death, or else on banishment.

Fore-sight of evils doth employ my mind,

That me without defence they may not find.

And though in ambuscade the mischiefs lie,

Kill me it may, but shall not me surprize.

But those who are of a degenerate Spirit, and disuse thoughtfulness, never apply their Minds to any thing that is either useful or becoming, but they grow exorbitant in their sorrows, and afflict the innocent Body, making it sick for company, as *Acheus* expresseth it; therefore *Plato* doth rightly instruct us to acquiesce in cases of this nature, when it is not manifest whether they be good or evil, and we get nothing by being uneasie under them; for the truest expedient to remove our sorrow, is to deliberate what is best to be done: Therefore he commands us as in the casting of Dice to lay our wager upon that Throw, where we may most rationally expect to win; that when any thing ails us, we should not imitate the folly of Children, who presently cry out, and clap their hands to the place affected, but should accustom our selves to disperse the humor with all the Arts
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of Medicine, and so restore the part that is diseased to its first tone of health. He that instituted Laws for the *Ly-cians*, Commanded the Citizens, that when they mourned, they should put on Womens Apparel, intimating thereby, that sorrow was an effeminate thing, and therefore was not fit for Men of Temper and liberal Education; for it is indeed a weak and unmanly passion, and Women are more subject to it than Men, the *Barbarians* more than the *Greeks*, and the dregs of Mankind more than the refined part of them; and even amongst the *Barbarians*, the brave spirited *Celtæ* and *Gauls* have not a propensity to it, or any that have generous Sentiments; but the *Egyptians*, the *Syrians* and the *Lydians*, and those who resemble them in the softness of their disposition: They report that some of these will hide themselves in retirements under ground, and refuse to behold that Sun of which their lamented friend is deprived: *Ion* the *Tragedian*, who heard something of this extravagance, introduceth a Person speaking after this manner;

Your life and Sons did from my Nipples flow,

Your Nurse is buried in a Cave below;

But I this dismal Grotto now will leave,

Which I chose out on purpose for to grieve.

Some of these *Barbarians* have deform'd their Bodies by cutting off their Noses, Ears, and other Parts of themselves, thinking to gratify the dead by these mutilations; when in doing so they deviate excessively from that moderation which nature prescribes us; and by *Jove* we meet with some Persons who affirm that the death of every one is not to be lamented, but only of those who die untimely; for they have not tasted of those things which we call enjoyments in the World, as a Nuptial Bed, proficiency in Learning, the coming up to an height in any thing, the honour of Magistracy and Charge;

ges in the Government ; 'tis for the sake of these things that we condole those who die immaturally, because they were frustrated of their hopes, when in the mean while we are ignorant that a sudden death doth not at all differ from any other, considering the condition of human nature ; for as when a journey is enjoyn'd into a remote Country, and there is a necessity for every one to undertake it, and none hath liberty to refuse, tho some go before, and others follow, yet all must arrive at the same stage at last, so when we all lie under an obligation of discharging the same debt, it is not material whether we pay it sooner or later ; but if any ones death may be call'd untimely, and consequently an evil, that appellation suits only with that of Children and Infants, and especially of those who are newly born, but this we bear steadfast and with patience ; but when those that are grown up die, we take on heavily, because we fondly hop'd that when their years were full blown, they would then have had an uninterrupted state of health ; Now if the Age of a Man was determin'd within the space of twenty years, we would not think him that had arriv'd to fifteen to die an untimely death, but that he had fill'd up a just measure of living ; but he that had attain'd twenty, or at last had approach'd very near it, his good fortune we should applaud, as if he had enjoy'd the most happy and perfect life in the World : So if life was prolong'd to two hundred years as its fix'd period, and any one died at a hundred, we should howl over him as if he had been hastily cut off; it is manifest then by what hath been said now, and what hath been mention'd before, that the death we call untimely is capable of Consolation ; and *Troilus* had wept less passionately then *Priam*, if he had died when his Kingdom flourished, and his riches abounded, both which he laments as most deplorably lost ; for observe what he saith to his Son *Hector* when he entreats him to decline the Battle he was going to fight against *Achilles* ;

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My dearest Son within the Walls retire,
 The safety of thy Trojans so require :
 Let not Achilles rob thee of thy breath,
 Nor grace his triumphs with so brave a death.
 Besides take pity on my aged Head,
 Wretch that I am ! before that I am dead ;
 For Jove will suddenly thy Father slay,
 And previous troubles to it lead the way :
 But first my eyes must see my Children slain,
 And the bold Ravishers my Daughters stain,
 Nay Ruffins will invade my Royal Bed,
 And my poor Infants on the ground will tread.
 When at my life some hand an aim will take,
 And my cold limbs the trembling Soul forsake.
 My Body in the Threshold they will lay,
 Which unto Ravenous Dogs becomes a prey :
 But what's of all the most relenting sight,
 And Eyes tho ne'er so cruel can't delight
 My hoary Head they to their Jaws will throw ,
 My Chin all cover'd o're with Ages snow :
 Nay Natures secret parts expos'd must lie,
 And thus by peace-meal torn am forc'd to die.
 He spoke, then tore his Reverend locks with rage,
 But all fierce Hector's mind could not assuage.

Having then so many examples of this kind before
 thine Eyes, thou oughtest to make thy self sensible that
 not a few have been sav'd by death from those calamities
 they would certainly have fallen into, had they liv'd lon-
 ger ; contenting my self with those I have related alrea-
 dy, I will omit the rest that I may not seem tedious, and
 these are sufficient to shew that we ought not to abandon
 our selves to violent sorrow beyond temper and the bounds
 of nature: Crantor saith, to be innocent is the greatest com-
 fort in afflictions, I assent to him, and affirm that 'tis the
 noblest remedy. Besides, the Indication of our love to
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the Deceas'd, do not consist in grieving our selves for him, but in paying respect to his Fame; for no good Man deserves Elegies but Panegyricks; and we should rather celebrate his Loss by an honourable remembrance than lament it, and offer up rather first-fruits of Joy to the Gods, and not Tears which Sorrow extorts from us; for he who ceaseth to be amongst Men, becomes partaker of a divine Life, is freed from the servitude of the Body, and all those sollicitous cares which they of necessity must undergo, who are embarras'd with a mortal Life, till they have finished the Course, which Providence hath mark'd out for them; and this Life nature hath not given us as an indefeisable possession, but hath clogg'd it with restrictions and conditions of Fate. Those therefore who are the Masters of their Reason, ought not to be transported beyond the limits of Nature, and a just moderation unto unprofitable and barbarous complaints, and so wait till that comes upon them, which hath happened to many, to have their vital moisture exhausted before their Tears, and be carried to their own Graves in those mourning Weeds they put on for others, and there their Sorrow must lie buried with those Evils they provok'd upon themselves by their own Imprudence; to whom that of *Homer* may be appositely applied;

*Whilst others they lament with weeping Eyes,
The darkness of the Night doth them surprize.*

Wherefore in this case we should often thus reason with our selves; Shall us put an end to our Sorrow, or shall us grieve all the days of our Life? To make it infinite is the last degree of infatuation; for we have seen those who have been in the deepest circumstances of dejection to be so mitigated by time, that they have Banquett'd upon those Tombs which before they could not
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endure the sight of, without screeking out, and beating their Breasts, but now can dance round them with Music, and all the Postures of Jollity : Therefore to be obstinate in our grief, is the resolution of madness ; if then thou hast purpos'd within thy self that it shall have an end, joyn this consideration with it, that Time will assuage it too ; for what is once done, even the Deity himself cannot unravel : Therefore that which hath happened to us beyond our hope, and contrary to our opinion, hath palpably shewn us what used to befall others ; what's the result then ? Cannot any Discipline teach us, nor cannot we reason with our selves that ?

*The Earth with Evils doth abound,
As many in the Sea are found.*

And thus likewise ;

*Miseries surround Men so about,
That there is left no passage out.*

For many (as Crantor tells us) and those very wise Men, not now, but have long ago deplor'd the condition of human Nature, esteeming Life a punishment, and to be born a Man the highest pitch of Calamity ; this Aristotle tells us, Silenus declar'd when he was brought Captive to Midas : I think it best to quote the expressions of the Philosopher himself, in his Book wherein he treats of the Soul, he speaks after this manner ; wherefore thou best and happiest of Mankind, if we think those blessed who have departed this Life, then 'tis only not lawful, but even blasphemy to speak any thing that is false or contumelious of them, being now chang'd into, and become partakers of, a more refined nature ; and this my opinion is so old, that the Original and Author of it is utterly unknown, but hath been derived down to us even from Eternity, so establish'd is the truth of it.

Besides

Besides thou seest what is so familiar in Mens mouths, and hath been for many Years a tripe expression, what's that, saith he ? He answered him, This, 'tis best not to be born at all, and the next choice to that, 'tis more eligible to die than to live ; and this is confirm'd even by Divine Testimony : Pertinently to this they say, that *Midas* after hunting asking his Captive *Silenus* somewhat urgently what was the most desirable thing amongst Men, at first he would return no answer, but was obstinately silent : At last when *Midas* would not give over importuning him, he broke out into these words, though very unwillingly : *Thou Seed of an evil genius and precarious Off-spring of hard Fortune, whose Life is but for a day, why dost thou compel me to tell thee those things, 'tis better thou wert ignorant of ? For those live the least disturb'd, who know not their misfortunes ; but for Men the best for them is not to be born at all, nor to be made partakers of a more excellent nature, not to be is best for both Sexes.* This should have the first place in our choice and ambition, and the next to this when we are born to die as soon as we can. 'Tis plain therefore that he declar'd the condition of the dead to be better than that of the living : I could bring millions of Examples to justify this Topic, but I will not be long. We are not therefore to lament those who die in the bloom of their Years, as if they were spoiled of things which we call enjoyments in a longer Life ; for it is uncertain, as we have often said, whether they are deprived of good or evil, for the number of these is greater than the other ; the good we obtain hardly and with anxious endeavour, but the evil easily befalls us, for they say these are linked together, and by a mutual dependance of causes follow one another ; but the good lie scatter'd and disjoyned, and with great difficulty are brought within the compass of our Life, therefore we seem to have forgot our condition ; for not only, as *Euripides* hath it ;

The things we do possess are not our own ;

But in general no Man can claim a strict propriety in any thing he hath ;

*When Gods do riches lend it is but just,
That when they please we should resign our trust.*

We ought not therefore to take it amiss, if they demand those things they only indulged us the use of for a small time ; for even your Common Brokers, unless they are unjust, will not be displeased if they are called upon to refund their Pawns, and if he is not altogether so ready to deliver them, thou mayst say to him without any injury, hast thou forgot that thou receivedst them upon the condition to restore them ? The same Parity of reason holds amongst Men : The Gods have put Life into our hands by a fatal necessity, and there's no prefixt time when what is so deposited will be required of us, as the Brokers know not when their Pawns will be demanded : He therefore that is angry when he is dying himself, or resents the Death of his Children, is it not very plain, that he hath forgot that himself is a Man, and that he hath begotten Children as frail as himself ? For a Man that is in his Wits cannot be ignorant that he is a Mortal Creature, and born to this very end that he must die : *Niobe*, as it is in the Fable, had this Sentence always at hand ;

*She would not like an old, but fruitful Tree,
Loaded with Children like to Blossoms be ;
Her living always should not smoothly run,
Nor would she always see the cheerful Sun.*

She never sunk to that degree of desperation that she should desire to throw off her Life to ease the burden of her sorrow, nor call upon the Gods to hurry her into the

Utmost destruction : There are two Sentences inscribed upon the Delphic Oracle hugely accommodate to the usages of Man's Life ; know thy self, and do not any thing too much, and upon these all other Precepts depend, and they themselves are so much Unisons that their Sense is coincident, and seem to illustrate the Energy of one another : For in *know thy self* is included, do not things too much, and so on the contrary ; *Ion* hath spoken of it thus ;

This Sentence, know thy self, I to thee bring,

But only Jove himself could do the thing.

And thus *Pindar* ;

The Sense so rich, the Emphasis is such,

The wise Men praise it, do not things too much,

He therefore that hath this impressed upon his Mind, can easily conform himself to all the affairs of Life, and bear them handsomly ; when considering his Nature, he is neither lifted up to arrogance upon a prosperous event, nor when an adverse happens is dejected into complaint through pusillaninity, and that fear of death which is so congenial to us ; both which proceed from the ignorance of those things which fall out in human Life by necessity and fatal decree : The *Pythagoreans* speak handsomly to this purpose ;

Against those Evils thou shouldst not repine,

Which are inflicted by the Powers Divine.

Thus the Tragædian *Æschylus* :

He store of Wisdom and of Vertue hath,

Whom nothing from the Gods provoke his wrath.

Euripides thus :

He that is passive when the Fates Command,

Is wise and all the Gods doth understand.

In another place so,

*He that can bear those things which Men befall,
Him wise and modest, we may justly call.*

But many there are who blame all things, and whatsoever unexpectedly happens to them, they think it is procured them by the malignity of Fortune, and the spite of some evil Genius: Wherefore they are quarrelous, and cry out upon every occasion, inveighing against the bitterness of their mishaps, whose complaints we may not unfitly obviate with this expression;

The Gods do hurt thee not, but thou thy self.

Even thou thy self through perverseness and want of good instruction; and by reason of this false and deceiving opinion they accuse any kind of death; for if one die upon his Travel, they exclaim after this manner,

*The wretch his Father being absent dies,
Nor did his aged Mother close his Eyes.*

If he dies in his own Country, and his Parents about him, they lament that he is ravished out of their hands, and hath left them nothing, but regret for his loss: If he dies silent, giving them no instructions at parting, they complain thus,

*His tender dying words I did not hear,
Which I in my remembrance still should bear.*

If he spoke any thing before he breathed out his Soul, they keep those last accents as fuel to maintain their sentiments still kindled; if he dies a sudden death, they cry out that he is snatcht away; if Chronical Pains waste him, they'll tell you that the slow Distemper hath emaciated him to Death: Thus every appearance, take it which way you will, is sufficient to stir up your complaints: These things the Poets have introduced; and

the chiefeſt among them, *Homer*, who ſung after this manner,

*A Father ſo his deareſt Son doth burn,
And puts his mournful Aſhes in the Urn ;
Who in the miſt of his delight is dead,
To the Grave paſſing from the Nuptial Bed.
His poor new Married Wife is his Relict,
And this his Aged Parents doth afflict.*

And whether theſe things are juſtly lamented doth not yet appear : But ſee what he adds,

*Born in his elder Years he loſt his Boy,
Who was deſigned his riches to enjoy.*

Who knows but that the Deity with a fatherly Providence, and out of tendereſs to Mankind, foreſeeing what would happen, hath taken ſome purpoſedly out of this life by an untimely death ? That nothing ſhould befall them which is deteſtable, though nothing is grievous which carries a neceſſity along with it, neither of thoſe things which fall out by a precedent ratiocination or a ſubſequent ; and many by a timely death have been withdrawn from greater calamities ; ſo that it hath been good for ſome never to have been born at all, for others, that as ſoon as Life hath been blown in, it ſhould be extinguished, for ſome that they ſhould live a little longer, and others again that they ſhould be crop'd in the prime of their Youth : Theſe ſeveral ſorts of Death ſhould be taken in good part, ſince Fate is inevitable ; therefore it becomes Men well Educated to conſider, that thoſe who have paid their Debt to Mortality, have only gone before us a little time ; that the longeſt is but as a Point in reſpect of Eternity, and that many who have indulged their ſorrow to exceſs, have themſelves followed in a ſmall while thoſe that they

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have lamented, having reap'd no profit out of their complaints, but macerated themselves with voluntary afflictions ; since then the time of our Pilgrimage in this Life is but short, we ought not to consume our selves with forbid grief, and so render our selves unhappy by afflicting our Minds, and tormenting our Bodies, but we should endeavour after a more manly and rational sort of Life, and associate our selves with those who will not be Companions in grief, and by flattering our Tears, make them rise higher, but will afford rather a solemn and generous Consolation ; and we ought to hear and keep in our remembrance those words of *Homer*, wherewith *Hector* answers *Andromache*, when he comforts her after this manner ;

*Unhappy wretch do not too much complain,
In spite of Fate thou never canst be slain.*

*That doth appoint the Race thou art to run,
And Fortune good or bad thou canst not shun ;*

Which the Poet expresseth in another place thus ;

'Twas such a thread as the Fates for her spun.

Having these things fixed in our Minds, all vain and fruitless sorrow will be superseded ; the time that we have all to live being but very short we ought to spare and husband it, and not lay it out prodigally upon sorrow ; but rather let us fly from it, deserting the mournful colours, and so take care of our own Bodies, and consult the safety of those who live with us : 'Tis requisite that we should call to mind what reasons we urged to our Kinsmen and Friends when they were in the like Calamity, when we exhorted them to suffer these usual accidents of Life with a common patience, and bear mortal things with humanity, lest being prepar'd with instructions for other Mens misfortunes, we reap no benefit our selves out

of the remembrance of those Consolations ; and so not cure our minds by the sovereign applications of reason ; for in any thing a delay is less dangerous then in sorrow ; and when by every one it is so tritely said, that he that Procrastinates in an affair, contests which destruction, I think the character will more fitly sit upon him who defers the removing his troubles, and the perturbations of his mind. We ought also to cast our Eyes upon those conspicuous Examples, who have born the deaths of their Sons generously, and with a great spirit, such as were *Anaxagoras* the *Clazomenian*, *Demosthenes* of *Athens*, *Dio* of *Syracuse*, King *Antigonus*, and many others who have either liv'd in our times, or in the memory of our Fathers : They report of *Anaxagoras* that when he was reading natural Philosophy to his Pupils, and reasoning with them, sudden news was brought him of the death of his Son : He presently stop'd short in his Lecture, and said this to his Auditors ; I knew that I begot my Son mortal : *Pericles* who was Surnam'd *Olympius* for his Wisdom and the strength of his Eloquence, when he heard that both his Sons were dead, *Paralus* and *Xantippus*, how he behav'd himself upon this accident *Protagoras* tells us in these words : When his Sons, saith he, being in the first Verdure of their Youth, and handsom Lads, died within Nine days, he bore the calamity without any repining ; for he was of a Pacific Temper, from whence there was every day an accession of advantages towards the making him happy, the being free from grief, and thereby acquiring a great reputation amongst his fellow Citizens ; for every one that saw him bear this calamity with so brave a resolution, thought him Magnanimous, and indeed entertain'd an higher opinion of him than he strictly deserv'd ; for he was conscious to himself of some weakness and defects in cases of this nature : But *Pericles* after he had received the news of the death of his Sons, he put on a Garland according to the custom

custom of his Country, and being cloth'd in white, made Harangues to the People, was the Author of safe and rational Counsels, and stirr'd up the courage of his *Athenians* to Warlike expeditions: *Chronicles* tells us, that when an express came out of the Field to *Xenophanes* the *Socratic* as he was Sacrificing, which acquainted him that his Son perished in the fight: He pull'd the Garland from his Head, and enquir'd after what manner he fell, and it being told him that he died gallantly, making a great slaughter of his Enemies: After he had paws'd a while to recollect his thoughts, and quiet his first Emotions of concern with reason, he adorn'd his Head again, finish'd the Sacrifice, and spoke thus to the Messengers: 'I did not make it my request to the Gods, that my Son might be immortal or long-liv'd, for 'tis not manifest whether this was convenient for him or no, but that he might have integrity in his principles, and be a lover of his Country, and now I have my desire: *Dio* of *Syracuse*, as he was consulting with his friends concerning some affairs, he heard a great noise, and crying out, and asking what was the matter, he was told the accident that his Son was kill'd with a fall from an Horse; he was not at all surpris'd or astonish'd at the disaster, but commanded the dead body to be deliver'd to the Women, that they might bury it according to custom: But he went on with his first deliberations, and reassum'd his discourse in that part where this accident had broken it off: 'Tis said that *Demosthenes* the *Rhetorician* imitated him upon the loss of his only and dearest Daughter; for *Æschines* upbraids him after this manner; within Seven days after the death of his Daughter, before he had perform'd the decencies of sorrow, and paid those common rights to the memory of the deceas'd: He put on a Garland, cloth'd himself in white, and Sacrific'd, thereby transgressing the Laws, tho he lost his only Daughter which first call'd him Father: Thus did *Æs-*

Chines with the strokes of his Oratory accuse *Demosthenes*, not knowing that he rather deserv'd a Panegyrick upon this occasion when he reject'd his sorrow, and preferr'd the love of his Country to the tenderness and compassion he ought to have for his Relations. King *Antigonus* when he heard the death of his Son that was slain in Battle, he looking steadily upon the Messengers of these sad tidings, and after a little interval of silence, and with a modest countenance he spoke thus : 'O *Alcinous*, thou hast fallen later than I thought thou wouldst, so brisk wast thou to run upon the thickest of thy Enemies, having no regard either to thy own safety, or my admonitions : Every one praiseth these Men for the bravery of their Spirit, but none can imitate what they have done through the weakness of their minds not well instructed ; there being many Examples extant, both in the *Greek* and *Roman* stories, of those who have born the death of their Relations not only with decency, but courage ? I think these that I have related to be a sufficient motive to thee, to keep tormenting grief at a distance, and so ease thy self of that labour which hath no profit in it, and is all in vain ? for that vertuous Men die in the prime of their years by the kindness of the Gods to whom they are peculiarly dear. I have already told thee in the former part of my discourse, and will give a short hint of it now, bearing witness to that which is so prettily said by *Menander* ;

Him whom the Gods do love they cause do die.

But perhaps (my dear *Apollonius*) thou wilt thus object to me ; my young *Apollonius* was Originally design'd to it by Fate, and I ought first to have died that he might bury me : This I confess is according to the course of human nature, but Providence hath other measures, and that supream order which governs the World is very different ; for thy Son being now made happy, it was not requisite according to nature, that he should tarry in
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this Life longer than the time perfix'd him, but that having consummated the term of his duration, he should perform his fatal journey, nature recalling him to her self: But he died untimely; upon that account he is the happier, not having been sensible of those evils which are incident to Life, for *Euripides* said truly;

The time of being here we style amiss,

We call it life, but truly labour tis.

Thy *Apollonius* died in the beautiful flower of his years who gain'd the love, and provok'd the Emulation of all his Contemporaries: He was dutiful to his Father and Mother, obliging to his Domesticks, was a Philosopher, and to comprehend all in a word, he was a Lover of Mankind; he had a veneration for the Old Men that were his Friends, as much as for his Parents, had an affection for his Companions and Equals, reverenc'd his Instructors, was hospitable and mild to his Guests and Strangers, had a sweet and comely Aspect, and was of an extream humanity towards all the World: Therefore he being accompanied with the applauses of thy piety and his own, hath only made a digression from this Mortal Life to Eternity, as if he had withdrawn from the entertainment before he grew absurd, and the staggerings of drunkenness came upon him which are incident to a long Old Age: Now if the sayings of the Old Philosophers and Poets are true, as there is probability to think them so; that honours are conferred upon the righteous and high Seats of Dignity after they are departed this Life, and as it is said that a particular Region is appointed for their Souls to dwell in, you ought to cherish very fair hopes that your Sons stands numbered amongst those blest Inhabitants. Of the state of the Pious, after death *Pindar* discourseth after this manner;

There the Sun shines with an unsullied light,

When all the World above is thick with Night.

There

There all the richly scented Plants do grow,
 And there the Crimson-colored Roses blow.
 Each Flower blooming on its tender stalk,
 And all these Meadows are their Evening walk.
 There Trees peculiarly delights the sense,
 With their exhal'd perfumes of Frankincense.
 The Boughs their noble burdens cannot hold,
 The weight must sink them when the fruit is gold.
 Some do the Horse unto the Manage bring,
 Others unto the tuneful Lute do sing,
 There's plenty to excess of every thing,
 The Region always doth serene appear,
 The Sun and pious flames do make it clear.
 Where fragrant gums do from the Altars rise,
 When to the Gods they offer Sacrifice.

And proceeding farther in another Lamentation, he
 spake thus concerning the Soul ;

Just we that distribution may call,
 Which to each Man impartially doth fall.
 It doth decide the dull contentious strife,
 And easeth the calamities of Life,
 Death doth its efforts on the Body spend,
 But the aspiring Soul doth upwards tend.
 Nothing can damp that bright and subtil flame,
 Immortal as the Gods from whence it came.
 But this sometimes a drowsie Nap will take,
 When all the other Members are awake.
 Fancy in various dreams doth to it shew,
 What punishments unto each crime is due :
 What pleasures are reserv'd for pious deeds,
 And with what scourges the Incestuous bleeds.

Divine Plato hath spoke many things of the Immor-
 tality of the Soul in that Book which he calls his *Phædrus*,
 not a few in his Republic, his *Menon* and his *Gorgias* ;
 and

and hath some scattered expressions in the rest of his Dialogues : The things which are written by him in his Dialogue concerning the Soul, I will send you by themselves, illustrated with my Commentaries upon them according to your request : I will now only quote those which are opportune and to the present purpose, and they are the words of *Socrates* to *Callicles* the *Athenian*, who was the Companion and Scholar of *Gorgias* the *Rhetorician* : For so saith *Socrates* in *Plato*. Hear then, saith he, a most Elegant Story, which you, I fancy, will think to be a Fable, but I take it to be a truth, for the things which I shall tell you, have nothing but reality in them. *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*, as *Homer* tells us, divided the Kingdom amongst them, which they received by Inheritance from their Father ; but there was a Law established concerning Men in the Reign of *Saturn* which was then valid, and still remains in force amongst the Gods, that that Mortal, which had led a just and pious Life, when he died should go into the fortunate Islands of the blest, but he that had liv'd impiously, and in contempt of the Gods should be shackled with vengeance, and be thrust into that Prison which they call *Tartarus*. In the time of *Saturn*, and the first beginnings of *Joves* Empire, the Living Judg'd the Living, and that the same day that they died, whereupon the Decisions of the Bench were not rightly managed : Therefore *Pluto* and his Curators under him came out of these fortunate Islands, and complain'd to *Jupiter* that Men were unworthy of both those Favours ; I, saith *Jupiter*, will take care that this thing be not practis'd for the future ; for the reason that the Sentences are now unjustly carried, is, because the Guilty come cloth'd to the Tribunal, and whilst they are yet alive ; for some of profligate dispositions are yet palliated with a beautiful out-side, with riches and titles of Nobility, and so when they come to be Arraign'd, many will offer themselves as witnesses to swear that they have liv'd

liv'd very pious Lives: The Judges are dazled with these appearances, and they sit upon them too in their Robes ; so that their Minds are as it were cover'd and obscur'd with Eyes and Ears, and indeed with the encumbrance of the whole Body : The Judges and the Prisoners being cloth'd are two very great Impediments ; therefore in the first place the fore-knowledge of death is to be taken away, for now they see to the end of their Line, and it is strictly enjoin'd us by *Prometheus* that this must not be : Next that they ought to be divested of all Ornament, and come dead to the Tribunal : The Judge himself is to be naked, and dead too, that so being all Soul, he may the more clearly discern the blemishes of other Mens, with its Intuitive Faculty : When he is now forsaken of his Relations, and left behind him all his gaities in the other World ; and so Justice will be impartially pronounc'd. Deliberating this with my self, before I received your advice, I have constituted my two Sons, *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus* Judges for *Asia*, and *Æacus* for *Europe* ; these therefore after they have departed this Life, shall assume their Character, and exercise it in the Field, and in the Road where two ways divide themselves, the one leading to the fortunate Islands, and the other to the deep Abyss ; so *Rhadamanthus* shall judge the *Asians*, and *Æacus* the *Europeans* : But to *Minos* I will grant the authority of a final Appeal, that if any thing hath escaped the notice of the Prisoners, it shall be subjected to his cognizance, as to the last resort of a Supream Judge ; that so it may be rightly decided what journey every one ought to take ; these are the things, *Callicles*, which I have heard, and think to be true, and I draw this rational inference from them, that death in my opinion is nothing else but the separation of two things nearly united, which is, Soul and Body.

These Collections (my dear *Apollonius*) I have joyn'd together with all the accuracy I could, and out of them compos'd

compos'd this Consolatory Letter, I now send thee, which is very necessary to discuss thy melancholly Humour, and put a period to thy sighs; I have paid likewise that deference which became me to the Ashes of thy Son who is the darling of the Gods, such an Honour being most acceptable to those whom fame hath consecrated to Immortality: Thou wilt therefore do handsomely, believe the reasons I have urg'd to thee, and gratify thy deceas'd Son, if by shaking off this unprofitable sorrow which eats into thy mind, and afflicts thy Body, thou wilt again return to that course of humor which nature hath chalk'd out, and the former customs of thy Life have made familiar to thee: For as when thy Son lived amongst us, he could not without the deepest regret see thee or his Mother sad; so now that he is amongst the Gods enjoying the intimacy of their Conversation, such a prospect from thence must be much more displeasing; therefore take up the resolutions of a good, a generous Man, and of one who lov'd his Son, and so extricate thy self, the Mother of the Lad, thy Kinsmen and Friends at once out of this great Infelicity: Put on thy usual gaity, and betake thy self to a brisker sort of Life, which as it will be acceptable to thy Son, so it will be extreamly pleasing to us all, who have that concern for thee as we ought to have.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals:

Vol. I.

Concerning the
Vertues of Women.

*Englisht from the Greek by Isaac Chauncey, of
the Col. Phys. Lond.*

Concerning the Vertues of Women (O Clea) I am not of the same Mind with *Thucydides*. For he would prove, *That she is the best Woman, concerning whom there is the least Discourse made by People abroad, either to her Praise or Dispraise*; judging that as the Person, so the very Name of a good Woman ought to be retired, and not gad abroad. But to us *Georgias* seems more accurate, who requires, *That not only the Face, but the Fame of a Woman should be known to many*: For the *Roman Law* seems exceeding good, which permits due Praises to be given publicly both to Men and Women after Death. Wherefore When *Leontis*, a most excellent Woman departed this Life, immediately we made then a long Oration to thee about her, and truly not devoid of Philosophical Contentment; and now (as thou didst desire) what remains of the things discoursed of, I have wrote to thee, carrying with it an Historical Demonstration, that the Vertue of a Man and Woman, is one and the same; and although it be not composed for the tickling of the Ear, yet if there be Jucundity in the Nature of an Example to him that is perswaded of the Truth of it, that

Narra-

Narration fails not of an Acceptance cooperating to a Demonstration ; neither is it ashamed of commixing the Graces with the Muses in the sweetest Harmony (as *Euripides* saith) especially whilst it engageth the Faith of an honest Mind. Forbear with us, if whilst we assert the Art of Limning, performed by Men and Women, to be the same, we produce the same sort of Draughts wrought by Women, which *Apelles*, *Zeuxis*, or *Nicomachus* hath left, and is there any one who will reprehend us as attempting rather to humor and cajole Men than to convince them, verily I do not think it. Moreover, if whilst we go to make appear that the Poetic or Comic Art is not one thing in Men, and another thing in Women, though you may compare one with another, *Sapphus* his Verses with *Anacreons*, or the Oracles of *Sibil* with those of *Bacchis*, can any one justly blame this way of Argumentation, because it insinuates a Credence into the pleased and delighted Hearers ? neither wilt thou say this, neither can a Man truly any way better learn the Similitude of, and Difference between, Feminine and Virile Vertue, than by comparing together Lives with Lives, Exploits with Exploits, as the Products of some great Art, duly considering whether the Magnanimity of *Semiramis* carries with it the same Character and Impression with that of *Sesostris*, or the Cunning of *Tanaquil*, the same with that of King *Servius*, or the Discretion of *Porcias*, the same with that of *Brutus* ; or that of *Pelopida* with *Timocleas*, according to the most proper Variety and Quality of each of them, considered. Moreover, Vertues do admit some other Differences (like appropriate Colours) by reason of Mens Dispositions, and are assimilated to the subjected Manners and Temperaments of Bodies, yea, to the Education and Manner of Diet. *Achilles* was couragious in one manner, *Ajax* in another, the Subtilty of *Ulysses* was not like that of *Nestor*, neither was *Cato* and *Agessilaus* just
after

after the same manner, neither was *Eirene* a Lover of her Husband, so as *Alceſtis*; neither was *Cornelia* Magnanimous, so as *Olympias*; nor do we for all this constitute much Fortitude, Prudence and Justice specifically distinct? Whereas their individual Dissimilarities do exclude none of them from the specific Definitions.

Those things now which are very commonly discoursed of, and of which I know thou hast had the exact History and Knowledge, from solid Books, I will at present omit, unless it be some publick and recorded Matters worth your hearing, which have escaped the Historians of former times.

And seeing that many worthy things, both public and private, have been done by Women, it is not amiss to give a brief Historical Account of those that are public in the first place.

Example I.

Of the Trojan Women.

OF those that escaped at the taking of *Troy*, some of them being exercised with much tempestuous Weather, because they were unexperienced in Navigation, and unacquainted with the Sea, they were waſted over into *Italy*, and about the River *Tyber*, they made a very narrow Escape by some necessary Ports and Havens, whilst the Men went about the Country to enquire after Pilots, there fell out a Discourse among the Women, That where ever any Place of Scituation fell out to be in all their Roving, and Sea faring Condition, it were much better for Men, managing the Affairs in a due and right Manner, to assume to themselves a Country to plant in, seeing it was impossible to recover that which they had lost. Upon this, plotting together, they set fire on the Ships, *Roma* (as they say) being one of the first in the Attempt; but having done these things, they went to meet their Hus-
bands,

bands, running towards the Sea, in order to the Relief of the Ships, and fearing their Indignation, they lay hold, some of them on their Husbands, and some on their intimate Acquaintance, and fall a *Kissing* them soundly ; by which Carriage they obtained their Charitable Reception. Wherefore it hath been formerly, and now remains to be a Custom among the *Romans*, for the Women to salute their Kinsfolk that come unto them by *Kissing*.

The *Trojans* (as it seems) being sensible of the Streight they were in, and having also made some Experience of the Natives entertaining them with much Bounty and Humanity, applauded the Exploit of the Women, and sat down by the *Latins*.

Example 2.

Of the Phocæan Women.

THAT Action of the Women of *Phocis*, although indeed it hath not fallen under the Cognizance of any noted Writer of that Age, yet it is none of the least of Feminine Enterprises tending unto Vertue, the which is attested by those famous Sacred Rites performed by the *Phoces* at *Hyampholis*, and by ancient Decrees, the doing whereof is particularly recorded in the Life of *Diaphantus*.

The Story of those Women is this: There was an implacable War between the *Theſſalians* and the *Phoceans*: For these (the *Phoces*) slew all the *Theſſalian* Governours and Magistrates in the Cities of *Phocis* in one Day. Whereupon they (the *Theſſalians*) slew fifteen hundred *Phocæan* Hostages, and with their whole Host, marched up against them through *Locria*, publishing their Resolution, To spare no Men that were of Age, and as for Women and Children, they should be sold for Slaves. *Diaphantus* therefore, the Son of *Bathil*, a Triumvir, Governour of *Phocis*, perswaded the *Phocæan* Men, themselves to go to meet the

Theſſalians in Battle; but as for the Women, together with their Children, that they ſhould be aſſembled together into one Place, from all the Parts of Phocis, which they ſhould pile round with combuſtible Matter, and to leave a Watch, which the Women ſhould give in Charge, that if he perceived that the Men were conquered, that immediately he ſhould ſet Fire to the Pile, and burn all the Bodies to Aſhes. Theſe Counſels were agreed to by ſome, but one ſtands up and ſaith, *That it's juſt that theſe things be conſented to by the Women alſo, and if they did not chearfully ſubmit to it, not to have any Force offered to them.* The Account of this Diſcourſe being come to the Women, they aſſembled together by themſelves, and carried it by Vote, and applauded *Diaphantus* as a Man that beſt conſulted the Affairs of *Phocis*; they ſay alſo that the Children meeting together, privately voted the ſame things. Theſe Matters being thus ſetled, the *Phoces* joyning Battle at *Cleon*, a Town of *Hyampolis*, got the Victory: Hence the *Grecians* call this Vote of the *Phocean Women*, *Aponea* [*the mad Freak or deſperate Reſolve.*] And of all Fetiivals, this of the *Elaphæbolia* [or March] is the greateſt, which they obſerve to *Minerva* to this Day, in remembrance of this Victory obtained in *Hyampolis*.

Example 3.

Of the Women of Chios.

THE People of *Chios* poſſeſſed themſelves of *Leconia*, upon this Occaſion following; a certain Famous Man, of the Nobles of *Chios*, was Married; whiſt the Bride was drawn in her Chariot, King *Hippoclus*, an intimate Friend of the Bridegrooms, being preſent, as the reſt were, as alſo fudled and merry, leaped into the Chariot, not deſigning any Incivility, any otherwiſe than to keep up the uſual Cuſtom, and to make ſport: However the Bridegrooms Friends ſlew him; the

the Effects of Divine Displeasure appearing against the People of *Chios*, and the Oracle commanding them to *slay the Slayers of Hippoclus*; they replied, *We have all of us slain Hippoclus*; the Oracle commanded them *all therefore to depart the City, if all did partake of the Guilt*: So that at length the Principals, Accessories and Abettors of the Murder by any means whatsoever, being not a few in number, nor feeble for strength, transplanted themselves into *Leuconia*, which by the Aid of the *Erythreses*, the Men of *Chios* taking from the *Coroneses*, possessed themselves first of, afterward a War arising between them and the *Erythreses* (by far the most potent People among the *Ionians*) against whom then laying Siege to *Leuconia*, the Men of *Chios* not being able to defend themselves, they came to an Agreement, and gave their Faith in obligation to depart upon these Terms, that every one should take with him only one Cloak, and one Coat, and nothing else. But the Women of *Chios* upbraiding them as *mean spirited men, that they would yield to lay down their Weapons, and go naked men through their Enemies*; to whom, when they made answer, *that they were sworn so to do*. They charged them not to leave their Weapons behind them; but to say to their Adversaries, *That the Spear is a Cloak, and the Buckler a Coat to every man of Courage*. The Men of *Chios* being perswaded to these things, and emboldning themselves courageously against the *Erythreses*, and shewing their Weapons; the *Erythreses* were amazed at their Audacity, and none opposed or hindred them, but were glad of their Departure. These Men therefore being taught Courage by the Women in this manner, made a safe Escape.

Many years after this, there was another Exploit, nothing inferior to this in Fortitude, performed by the Women of *Chios*. When as *Philip* the Son of *Demetrius* besieged the City, he set forth a Barbarous and Insolent Proclamation, inviting the Servants to a Defection, upon

Promise of Liberty, and Marriage of their Mistresses, that he would give them their Masters Wives into their Possession : At this the Women were dreadfully and outrageously incensed ; as also the Servants no less provoked to Indignation, and unanimously assisting, rushed forth furiously, and ascended the Wall, bringing Stones and Darts, encouraging and animating the Souldiers ; so that in the end , these Women discomfited and repulsed the Enemies, and caused *Philip* to raise his Siege, and not so much as one Servant fell off to him.

Example 4.

Of the Argive Women.

OF all the renowned Actions performed by Women, none was more Famous than the Fight with *Cleomenes*, in the Country of *Argos*, whom *Telefilla*, by the Influence of her Poetry defeated. This Woman they say was of an honorable Family, but had a sickly Body ; therefore sent to consult the Oracle concerning her Health ; Answer was made, *That she must be a Servant to the Muses* : Accordingly, she becomes obedient to the Goddess, applying her self to Poetry and Music ; her Distempers left her, and she became the Mirrour of Women in the Art of Poetry. Now when *Cleomenes*, King of the *Spartans*, having slain many *Argives* (but not so many, as some fabulously reported, to wit, 7777.) marched up against the City : The youthful Women were as it were Divinely inspired with desperate Resolution and Courage, to repulse the Enemies out of their Native Country.

They take Arms under the Conduct of *Telefilla*, they place themselves upon the Works, they raise a Counter-carp to the Wall, even to the Admiration of the Enemy, they by a Sally beat off *Cleomenes*, with the Slaughter of many of his Men, and as for the other King, *De-*

marat

marat (as Socrates saith) he having entred the City, and possessed him of Pamphyliack [*a Fort, or Street of the City*] they beat him out. In this manner the City being preserved, those Women that were slain in the Engagement, they buried by the High-way to Argia, to them that Escaped, they gave the Honour of erecting the Statue of Mars, in perpetual Memorial of their Bravery. Some say this Fight was on the seventh Day of the then present Month, some say that it was on the Calends of that Month, which is now the fourth, anciently called *Hermæus* by the *Argives*, upon which day, even to this time, they perform their *Hybristica* [*i.e.* their Sacred Rites of Incivility] clothing the Women with Mens Coats and Breeches, but the Men with Womens Veils and Petticoats. The Women to repair the Scarcity of Men [in loss of their Husbands] did not (as *Herodotus* saith) by marrying their Servants, but by admitting the best sort of the adjacent Inhabitants to be Citizens, and marrying them, and these they thought meet to reproach and undervalue, at Bed and Board, as worse than themselves; whence there was a Law made, That new Married Women should have Beards put on upon them when they first lay with their Husbands.

Example 5.

Of the Persian Women.

Cyrus causing the Persians to revolt from King Astyages, and the Medes, was overcome in Battle: The Persians retreating by flight into the City, the Enemy pursued so close, that they had almost fell into the City with them. The Women run out to meet them before the City, plucking up their Petticoats to their Middles, saying, Ye vilest Varlots among Men, whither so fast? Ye cannot find a Refuge in these Parts, from whence Nature hath secluded you. The Persians blushing for Shame at the Sight

and Speech, as also checking themselves, faced about and renewing the Fight, routed their Enemies: Hence a Law was enacted, that when the King enters the City, every Woman should receive a Piece of Gold; and this Law *Cyrus* made; though they say that *Odtius* being in other kinds a naughty and covetous King, would always (when he came) compass the City, and not enter it, and so deprive the Women of their Largess; but *Alexander* entered twice, and gave all the Women with Child a double Benevolence.

Example 6.

Of the Celtick Women.

There was a very grievous and irreconcilable Contention happened among the *Celts* (before they passed over the *Alps* to inhabit that Tract of *Italy*, which now they Manure) as that it proceeded to a Civil War: The Women placing themselves between the Armies, both took up the Controversies, argued them so accurately, and determined them so impartially, that an admirable friendly Correspondency, and general, ensued, both Civil and Domestick. Hence the *Celts* made it their Practice to take the Women into Consultation about Peace or War, and in any Controversies that arose between them and their Allies, the Women did moderate; and in the League therefore made with *Annibal*, the Writing runs thus, *If the Celts take Occasion of quarrelling the Carthaginians, the Colonels and Captains of the Carthaginians in Spain shall decide the Controversie; but if the Carthaginians accuse the Celts, the Celtick Women shall be Judges.*

Example 7.

Of the Melitish Women.

THE *Melites* standing in need of a larger Country, constituted *Nymphæus* an handsom Man, and marriageably

vellously comely, the Commander for the transplanting of the Colony : The Oracle [enquired] enjoyned them *to continue Sailing till they cast away their Ships, and there to pitch their Colony* ; it happened that they arrived at *Caria*, and going ashore, their Ships were broken to pieces by a Storm. Some of the *Careses* which dwelt at *Cryessa*, whether commiserating their distressed Condition, or dreading their Resolution, invited them to dwell in their Neighbourhood, and bestowed upon them a part of their Country, but then observing their marvellous Encrease in a little time, they conspired to cut them off by Treachery, and providing a Feast and great Entertainment for that end and purpose, it came to pass that a certain Virgin in *Caria* fell in love with *Nymphæus* (her Name was *Caphena*) who while these things were in agitation, could not endure to connive at the Destruction of her beloved *Nymphæus*, and therefore acquainted him privately with the Conspiracy of the Citizens against him, when the *Cryesses* came to invite them, *Nymphæus* made this Answer, *It is not the Custom of the Greeks to go to a Feast without their Wives* ; which the *Careses* hearing, requested them also to bring their Wives ; and so explaining the whole Transaction to the *Melites*, he charged them *not to go without Armour under their Vestments, but that every one of the Women should carry a Dagger stuck in their Bosom, and that each should take her place by her Husband*. About the middle of Supper, their Signal Token was given to the *Careses*, the point of time also the *Græcians* were sensible of ; accordingly the Women laid open their Bosoms, and the Men laid hold on their Daggers, and sheathing them in the *Barbarians*, slew them all together, possessing themselves of the Country, overthrew that City, and built another, which they called *New Cryessa*. Moreover, *Caphena* being married to *Nymphæus*, received due Honour and grateful Acknowledgments becoming her good Services. *Here the Taciturnity and Courage of Women is worthy of Admiration,*

tion, that none of them among so many, did so much as unwittingly, by reason of Fear, betray their Trust.

Example 8.

Of the Tyrrhene Women.

AT that time that the Tyrrhenes inhabited the Islands Lemnus and Imber, they violently seized upon some Athenian Women from Baurio, on whom they begat Children, which Children the Athenians banished from the Islands as mixt Barbarians. But these arriving at Tenarus, were serviceable to the Spartans in the Helotic War, and therefore obtained the Priviledge of Citizens and Marriage, but were not dignified with any Share in the Magistracy or Counsels; for they had them in suspicion, That they would combine together in order to some Innovation, and conceived they might shake the present established Government; Wherefore the Lacedæmonians seizing on them, and securing them, shut them up close Prisoners, seeking to take them off by evident and strong Convictions. But the Wives of the Prisoners gathering together about the Prison, by many Supplications prevailed with the Jaylors, That they might be admitted to go to salute their Husbands, and speak with them. As soon as they came in, they required them to change their Clothes immediately, and leave them to their Wives, but they apparell-ed in their Wives Habit should go forth. These things being effected, the Women stay'd behind, prepared to endure all hard Usages of the Prison, but the deluded Keepers let out the Men as if they had been their Wives. Whereupon they seized upon Taygeta, exciting the Helotick People to revolt, and taking them to their Aid, the Spartans alarm'd by these things into a great Consternation, by a Herauld Proclaiming a Treaty of Peace, who were reconciled upon these Conditions, To receive their Wives again, and furnished with Ships and Provisions, should make an Expedition

Expedition by Sea, and possessing themselves of a Land, and as City elsewhere, they should be accounted a Colony, and Allies of the Lacedæmonians. These things did the *Palagians*, taking *Pollis* for their Captain, and *Cratais* his Brother, both *Lacedæmonians*, and one part of them took up their Seat in *Melum*; but as for the most part of them which were shipped with *Pollis*, they sailed into *Crete*, taking their Measures from the Oracles, by whom they were told, *That when they should lose their Goddess, and their Anchor, that then and there they should put an end to their Ro-ving, and there build a City.* Wherefore putting into Harbour on that part of *Crete*, called *Cherronesus*, pan- nick Fears fell upon them by Night, at which coming under a Consternation, they leapt tumultuously on board their Ships, leaving on Shoar for haste, the Statue of *Diana*, which was their Patrimony brought from *Brauro* to *Lemnus*, and from *Lemnus* carried about with them where-ever they went; the Tumult being appeased, and as they were setting Sail, they mist this Statue, and at the same time *Pollis* found that *his Anchor had lost one of its Beards* (for the Anchor having been dragg'd, as appeared, through some rocky Places, was insensibly torn) said, *That the Oraculous Answer of Pythia was ac- complished.* Therefore he gave a Sign to tack about, and accordingly made Inrode into that Country, con- quered those that opposed him in many Battles, sat down at *Lycium*, and brought many other Cities to be Tributary to him, and now they repute themselves akin to the *Athenians* on the Mothers side, and to be *Spartan Colonies.*

Example 9.

Of Lycian Women.

THat which is reported to have fallen out in *Lycia*, although it be fabulous, yet it hath common Fame attesting

attesting it. *Amisodarus* (as they say) whom the *Lycians* call *Isaras*, came from a Colony of the *Lycians* about *Xeleia*, bringing with him Pyrate Ships, which *Chimarus* a Warlike Man, who was also Savage and Brutish, was Commander of; he sailed in a Ship which had a *Lion* carved on her Head, and a *Dragon* on her Stern: He did much Mischief to the *Lycians*, that they could not Sail on the Sea, nor inhabit the Towns nigh the Sea-coasts.

This Man *Bellerophon* pursued, flying on his *Pegasus* (i. e. his Ship) and slew; defeated also the *Amazons* [Enemies of the *Lycians*] for which he obtained no due Requital, but *Jobat* the King, was most injurious to him; upon which *Bellerophon* went to the Sea-shoar, and made earnest Supplication by himself to *Neptune*, that he would render that Country Barren and Unfruitful; and having said his Prayers, fac'd about; upon which the Waves of the Sea arose, and overwhelmed the Land, and it was a dreadful Sight to behold the lofty Billows following *Bellerophon*, and drowning the Plain; and now when the Men by their Deprecation, labouring to put a stop to *Bellerophon*, availed nothing at all, the Women plucking up their Petticoats, met him full butt; upon which, confounded with shame, he turned back again, and the Flood, as they say, returned with him. But some unriddled the fabulous part of this Story, by telling us, that it was not by Execrations that he brought up the Sea, but the fattest part of the Plain lying lower than the Sea, and a certain Breach extending it self all along the Shoar, which beat off the Sea, *Bellerophon* brake through: At which Breach, the Sea forcibly flowing in, overwhelmed the Plain; and when the Men by their humble Addresses obtained nothing, the Women assembling about him in Multitudes, gained respect from him, and pacified his Wrath. Some tell us, that that so celebrated *Chimera*, was a Mountain opposite to the Sun, out of which was wont to proceed ratling Noises, blasting Heats,

Heats, and Flashes of Lightning, by which scattered down upon the Fields, the Fruits were withered. But *Bellerophon* finding out the Reason of the Mischief, cut through the smoothest part of the Cliff, which did most frequently send forth those cracking Noises; but seeing that he was treated ungratefully, his Indignation was excited to take Vengeance on the *Lycians*, but was appeased by the Women. The Reason which *Nimphs* (in the Fourth Book of *Herculian* Enterprizes) doth assign, is to me not at all fabulous; for he saith, when *Bellerophon* slew a certain wild Boar, which destroyed the Cattle and Fruits in the Province of *Zants*, and received no due Reward of his Service: He prayed to *Neptune* for Vengeance, and obtained that all the Fields should cast forth a salt Dew, and be universally corrupted, the Soil becoming bitter, which continued till he condescendingly regarding the Women Suppliants, prayed to *Neptune*, and removed his Wrath from them. Hence there is a Law among the *Zants*, That they should not for the future, derive their Names from their Fathers, but from their Mothers.

Example 10.

Of the Saguntine Women.

WHen *Hannibal* the Son of *Barcas* besieged the great City *Saguntum* in Spain, before he fought against the *Romans*; at the first Assault the besieged Citizens were surprized with Fear, insomuch that they consented to grant him his Demands, and to give him Three hundred Talents of Silver, and Three hundred Hostages, upon which, he raising his Siege, they changed their Minds, and would not perform any thing that they had promised: Wherefore returning again to his Siege, he gave Command to his Souldiers to take the City by Storm, and fall to the Plundering their Goods: At this, the *Barbarians*, struck universally into a pannick Fear,

Fear, came to Terms of Composition, to depart the City with their Cloths to their Backs, by a free Pass, but should leave their Weapons, Goods, Hostages and City behind them. Now the Women supposing, that *although the Enemies would strictly search every Man as he departed, yet that the Women should go untouched*: Accordingly they taking Cimeters, and hiding them under their Coats, fell in with the Men as they marched out; when they were all gone out of the City, *Hannibal* sets a Guard of *Massilian* Souldiers, without the Gate he fixed their Post, but the rest of his Army fell promiscuously into the City to Plunder, the *Massilians* seeing them busie in carrying away much Spoil, were not able any longer to refrain, nor mind the Charge of their Watch, taking it heinously, that that was their Lot, and therefore left their Post, and went to take their share of the Booty. Upon this the Women flouting, animated their Husbands, delivered the Cimeters into their Hands, and they themselves some of them fell upon the Sentinels: In-somuch, that one of them snatching away the Spear of *Banon* the Interpreter, smote himself with it, though he was armed with a Breast-plate, and as for the rest, the Men routed and put some to flight, and slew others, making their Escape by charging through them, together with the Women in a great Body. *Hannibal* being made acquainted with these things, pursued them, and those that he took he slew; but some betaking themselves to the Mountains, easily made their Escape, and afterwards sending in their humble Supplications, were admitted by him into the City, obtaining *Indemnity and Civil Usage*.

Example

Example 11.

Of the Women of Milefia.

A Certain dreadful and monstrous Distemper did seize the *Milesian* Maids, arising from some hidden Cause, it is most likely, the Air had acquired some insuatuating and venomous Quality, that did influence them to this Change and Alienation of Mind; for all on a sudden, an earnest longing for Death, with furious Attempts to hang themselves, did attack them, and many did privily accomplish it; the Arguments and Tears of Parents, and the Perswasion of Friends availed nothing, but they circumvented their Keepers in all their Contrivances and Industry to prevent them, still murdering themselves; so that the Calamity seemed to be an extraordinary Divine Stroke, and beyond human Help, until the Counsel of a wise Man was by Record past into Act of the Senate: viz. *That those Maids that hanged themselves, should be carried naked through the Market-place.* This ratified Law did not only inhibit, but quash't their Desires of slaying themselves. Note what a great *Argument of good Nature and Vertue this Fear of Disgrace is*; that they that had no dread upon them, of the most terrible things in the World, viz. Death and Pain, could not endure the *Fantasia of an immodest thing, no, not to be exposed to Shame after Death.*

Example 12.

Of the Women of Cios.

IT was a Custom among the Maids of *Cios*, to assemble together to public Divine Service, and to pass the rest of the Day together in good Fellowship: When their Sweet-hearts had the Felicity to behold how prittily they sported and danced about at the Evening;
this

this Company went to every particular Maid distinctly, waited upon each others Parents and Brethren very officiously, even to the Washing of their Feet; it oftentimes so fell out, *That many young Men fell in Love with one Maid, but carried it so decently and civilly, that when the Maid was espoused to one, the rest presently gave off Courting of her.* The effect of this good Order among the Women, was, *That no mention was made of any Adultery or Fornication among them for the space of Seven hundred Years.*

Example 13.

Of the Phocæan Women.

WHEN the Tyrants of *Phocæa* had taken *Delphos*, and the *Thebans* undertook that War against them, which was called *the Holy War*, certain Women devoted to *Bacchus* (which they call *Thyades*) fell Frantic, and went a gadding by Night, and mistaking their Way, came to *Amphissa*, and being very much tired, and not as yet in their right Wits, they flung down themselves in the Market-place, and fell asleep as they lay scattered up and down here and there: But the Wives of the *Amphisseans*, fearing, because that City was engaged to aid in the *Phocæan War*, and abundance of the Tyrants Souldiery were present in the City, the *Thyades* should have any Indignity put upon them, ran forth all of them into the Market-place, and stood silently round about them, neither would offer them any Disturbance whilst they slept; but when they were awake, they attended their Service particularly, and brought them refreshments; and in fine, by Perswasions, obtained leave of their Husbands, that they might accompany them to bring them, going in safety to their own Borders.

Example 14.

Lucretia, Valeria, Clelia.

THE Injury done to, and the Vertue of, *Lucretia*, were the Causes of banishing *Tarquinius Superbus*, the Seventh Roman King, descending from *Romulus* (she was the married Wife to a Peer, and one of the Royal Race) for she was Ravish'd by one of *Tarquinius's* Sons, that was in a way of Hospitality entertained by her, and after she had acquainted her Friends and Family with the Abuse offered her, immediately slew her self. *Tarquinius* falling from his Dominion after many Battles that he fought, attempting to regain his Kingly Government; at last he prevailed with *Porfena*, Prince of the *Hetrurians*, to encamp against *Rome* with a powerful Army: Whereupon the *Romans* being pressed with War and Famine at the same time, likewise being acquainted that *Porfena* was not only a great Souldier, but a Just and Civil Person, they resolved to defer the Matters against *Tarquinius*, to him as a Judge. This Proposal *Tarquinius* obstinately refused to consent unto, saying, That *Porfena* could not be a just Arbitrator, that did not remain constant to his Military Alliance. Whereupon *Porfena* left him to himself, and made it his endeavour to depart a Friend to the *Romans*, which he offered, might he but have restored to him what Tracts of Land they had cut off from the *Hetrurians*, and the Captives they had taken. Upon these accepted Conditions, Hostages being given, viz. ten Male Children, and ten Females (among whom was *Valeria* the Daughter of *Publicola* the Consul) he immediately ceased his Warlike Preparations before the Articles of Agreement were quite finished. Now the Virgin Hostages going down to the River, as if they intended only to wash themselves a little further than ordinary from the Camp: There, by the Instigation of one of them,

them, whose Name was *Clelia*, wrapping their Coats about their Heads, they cast themselves into that great River Tyber, and assisting one another, swam thorow those vast Depths with much Labour and Difficulty: There are some that say, *Clelia* compassing a Horse, got upon him, and passing over gently before, the rest swimming after her, conducted, encouraged and assisted them; the Argument they use for this, we shall declare anon.

As soon as the Romans saw the Maids had made such a clever Escape, they admired indeed their Fortitude and Resolution, but did not approve of their Return, not abiding to be worse in their Faith than any one Man; therefore they charged the Maids to return back, and sent them away with a safe Conduct, for whom *Tarquinius* laid wait as they passed the River, and wanted but little of intercepting the Virgins, for *Valeria* with three of her Household Servants, made her Flight to the Camp of *Porfena*, as for the rest, *Arrus*, *Porfena's* Son, gave them speedy help, and delivered them from the Enemies. When they were brought, *Porfena* looking upon them, commanded them to tell him which of them advised, and first attempted this Enterprize, all of them being surpris'd with Fear, except *Clelia*, were silent, but she said, *That she was the Person that was the Author of it*; at which, *Porfena* mightily surpris'd, commanded an Horse curiously adorned with Trappings should be brought, which he gave to *Clelia*, and dismiss'd them all with much Generosity and Civility, and this is the Ground which many make of saying, That *Clelia* passed thorow the River on Horse back. Others deny this Story, but yet say, that *Porfena* admiring the Undauntedness and Confidence of the Maid, as being beyond what is commonly in a Woman, bestowed a Present on her becoming a Man Champion. It is certain that there is the Statue of a Woman on Horse-back by the Way side, called Sacred, which some say is *Clelia's*, others, that it is *Valeria's*.

Example

Example 15.

Of Micca and Megistoni.

Aristotimus cruelly tyrannizing over the People of Elis in Peloponnesus, against whom he prevailed by the Aid of King Antigonus, used not his Power with any Meekness or Moderation; For he was naturally a Savage Man, and most Cowardly enslaved his Person and Government, by barbarous Ministers of State, conniving at many injurious and cruel things which his Subjects suffered, among which was the Calamity of *Philodemus*. This Man had a beautiful Daughter, whose Name was *Micca*; this Maid, One of the Tyrants Captains of Auxiliaries, called *Lucius*, attempted to lye with, more out of a Design to debauch her, than for any Love he had to her; and for this end sent to fetch her to him, the Parents verily seeing the Streight they were in, advised her to go; but the Maid being of a Generous and Courageous Spirit, clasped about her Father, beseeching him with earnest Entreaties, that he would rather see her put to Death, than that her Virginity should be filthily and wickedly violated. Some Delay being made, *Lucius* himself starts up in the midst of his Cups, enraged with Wrath and Lust, and Drunk with Wine; and finding *Micca* laying her Head on her Fathers Knees, he instantly commanded her to go along with him, but she refusing, he rends off her Cloaths, and whip'd her stark naked; she stoutly enduring the Smart with silence. When her Father and Mother perceived that by their Tears they could not avail, nor bring any Succour to her, they converted their Appeal to Gods and Men, as Persons that were oppress'd by the most cruel and unrighteous Proceedings. But this barbarous Fellow, Drunk, and raging every way with Madness, run the Maid thorow as she lay with her Face in her Fathers Bosom. Neither

was the Tyrant affected with these Cruelties, but slew many, and sent more into Exile, for they say eight hundred took their Fight into *Ætolia*, petitioning the Tyrant that their Wives and Children might come to them. A little after, he made Proclamation, permitting the Women that would, to go to their Husbands, carrying with them all Utensils meet for Housewifery ; but when he perceived that all the Women received the Proclamation with Pleasure (for the Number was above six hundred) he charged them all to go in great Companies on the appointed day, as if he had consulted their Safety : When the day came, they crowded out at the Gates, packing up their Goods, and carrying their Children, some in their Arms, and some having them in Carts, and staid for one another. All on a sudden, many of the Tyrants Creatures made towards them in great haste, hollowing out their Commands to stay, while they were yet at a great distance from them, and as they approached, they charged the Women to return back, likewise turning about the Chariots and Carts, they forced them upon them, drave them through the midst of them without Fear or Wit, neither suffering the Women to follow or to stay, nor to reach forth any help to the perishing Infants (for some of them falling out of the Carts, others run over by the Carts, were destroyed) but drove them in (as so many Sheep which Butchers drive along, hawling and whipping them) thronging upon one another, till they had crowded them all into a Prison, but their Goods they returned into *Aristotimus*. The People of *Elis* taking these things very heinously, the the Priests devoted to *Bacchus* (which they call the Sixteen) taking with them their enchanting Wands and Miters belonging to the Service of their God, went to meet *Aristotimus* in the Market-place; the Guards, out of a Reverential Awe, stood off, and gave way to their Approach ; these the Priests stood still at first with Silence, solemnly reaching forth their Supplicatory

Rods,

Rods, but as soon as they appeared petitioning Addres-
sers, and Deprecators of his Wrath against the Women,
he fell into a great Rage at the Guards, exclaiming a-
gainst them, that they would offer to suffer the Priests to
approach his Presence, and caused some to be thrust a-
way, others to be beaten and dragged through the Mark-
et-place, and fined them two Talents a piece.

These things being transacted in this manner, one
Hellanicus moved a Conspiracy against this Tyrant; he
was a Man, who by reason of old Age, and the Loss of
two Sons by Death, was unsuspected of the Tyrant, as
being altogether unlikely for Action. In the mean time
also the Exiles waft themselves over from *Ætolia*, and
take *Amumona*, a very convenient Place on the Borders
to entrench a Camp in, and for the convenient Recepti-
on of such as frequently made their Escape by Flight
from *Elis*. *Aristotimus* being startled at these things, went
into the Imprisoned Women, and thinking to work them
to his Pleasure, more by Fear than by Favour, charged
them to send Letters to their Husbands, enjoying them to de-
part out of the Coasts; if they would not write, he threatned
them to slay their Children before their Eyes, and then put them
(the Mothers) to Deaths by Torments. Whilst he was long
provoking and urging of them to declare whether they
would obey his Mandates or no. Some answered him
nothing, but looked with silence one upon another; all
unanimously signifying an excellent composed Frame of
Mind, so as not at all to be scared or affrightned at his
Threat. But *Megistona*, the Wife of *Timocleon*, both in
respect of her Husband, and her own excellent Accom-
plishments, carried the Port of a Princess among them,
would not vouchsafe to rise off of her Seat to him; nei-
ther would permit the rest so to do, but as she sat, gave
him this Answer.

*Verily if thou wert a discreet Man, thou wouldst not after
this manner discourse Women about their Husbands, but would*

end to them as to our Lords, finding out better Language than that by which thou hast deluded us ; but if thou thy self despair'st to prevail with them, and therefore undertakest to trapan them by our Means, do not hope to put a Cheat upon us again. Neither that they are so ill advised, as that for the saving their Wives and little Ones, they will desert that Liberty of their Native Country ; for it is not so great a Prejudice to them to lose us, which at this time they are deprived of, as it will be benefit to set the Subjects at Liberty from thy Cruelty and Oppression.

Aristotimus being not able to refrain himself at this Speech of *Megistona*, required that her Son should be brought, as if it were, to slay him before her Eyes, and whilst the Officer was seeking out the Child that was in the Company of other Children, playing and wrestling together : his Mother call'd him by his Name, and said, Come hither my Child, before thou hast any Sense and Understanding, be thou delivered from bitter Tyranny ; for it would be much more grievous to me to see thee basely enslaved, than to see thee die. At which *Aristotimus* drawing his Sword upon the Mother her self, and transported with Rage, going to fall upon her, one of his Favourites, *Cylo* by Name (esteemed his trusty Confident, but in reality a Hater of him, and a Confederate with *Hellanicus* in the Conspiracy) put a stop to him, and averted him in an humble manner, telling him, That this is an ignoble and Woman-like Carriage, not at all becoming a Person of a Princely Mind, and a States-man : Hereupon *Aristotimus* scarcely coming to his Senses, departed. Now observe an ominous Prodigy happened to him. It was about Noon, when he was taking some Repose, his Wife sitting by, and whilst his Servants were providing Dinner, an Eagle was seen in the Air soaring over the House, which did, as it were, considerately, and on purpose, let fall a Stone of an handsome bigness upon that part of the Roof of the House, which was over the Apartment where *Aristotimus* lay :

With

With which there was also a great Ratling from above, together with an Out-cry made by the People that were abroad looking upon the Bird. Upon which *Aristotimus* falling into a great Consternation, and examining the Matter, sent and called his Soothsayer, which he usually consulted with his Public Concerns, and being in great Perplexity, desired to be satisfied *what that Prodigy meant?* The Sooth-sayer bid him be of good Cheer, for it signified, That Jupiter was now quickening and assisting of him. But to the Citizens that he could confide in, he said, *How that Vengeance would be no longer delayed from falling on the Tyrants Head.* Wherefore it was concluded by those about *Hellanicus*, not to defer any longer, but to bring Matters to an Issue the next Day. At Night *Hellanicus*, imagined in his Sleep, that he saw one of his dead Sons stand by him, and saying, *What is the Matter with thee, O Father! that thou sleepest?* To morrow thou shalt be Governour of this City. He being animated by this Vision, encouraged the rest concerned with him. Now *Aristotimus* being informed that *Craterus* coming to his Aid with great Forces, was encamped in *Olympia*; upon which, he became so confidently secure, that he ventured to go without his Guards into the Market-place, *Cylo* only accompanying him. Wherefore *Hellanicus* observing this Opportunity, did not think good to give the Signal to those that were to undertake the Enterprize with him; but with a clear Voice, as also lifting up both Hands, he spake, saying, *O ye good Men! what do ye mean to do?* Here is a fair Theatre in the midst of your Native Country to fight a Duel in. Whereupon *Cylo* in the first place drawing his Sword, smote one of *Aristotimus's* waiting Gentlemen; but *Thrasubulus* making a brisk Opposition, *Aristotimus* escaped by Flight into the Temple of *Jupiter*, and there slaying of him, dragg'd forth his Corps into the Market-place, and proclaimed Liberty to the Citizens. Neither were the Men there much before the Women,

who immediately ran forth with joyful Acclamations, environing the Men, and binding Triumphant Garlands about their Heads. The Multitude presently rushed on upon the Tyrants Palace, where his Wife shutting her self into her Bed-Chamber, hanged her self. He had also two Daughters, Maidens of most beautiful Complexions, ripe for Marriage : Those they laid Hands on, and haled forth, with a desperate Resolution to slay them, but first to torment and abuse them. But *Megistona*, with the rest of the Women, meeting them, called out with a loud Voice, *Will they perpetrate such Enormities, who reckon themselves a Free People, in imitation of the Practices of audacious and libidinous Tyrants ?* The Multitude reverencing the Gravity of this Matron, pleading so undauntedly with them, as also affectionately with Tears, they resolved to lay aside this opprobrious way of Proceeding, and to cause them to die by their own Hands. As they were therefore returned into the Chamber, they required the Maids immediatly to be their own Executioners. *Muro*, the Eldest, untying her Girdle, and tying it about her Neck, saluted her Sister, and exhorted her to be careful, and *do whatever she saw her do ; lest (as she said) we be treated in a base and unworthy manner.* But the younger desiring it might be her Lot to die first, she delivered her the Girdle, saying, *I did never deny thee any thing thou didst ever desire, neither will I now ; take this Favour also. I am resolved to bear and endure that which is more grievous than Death to me, to see my most dear Sister die before me.* Upon this, when she had instructed her Sister how to put the Girdle, so as to strangle her, and perceived her Dead, she took her down and covered her. And now the Eldest Sister, whose Turn was next, beseeching *Megistona* to take care of her, and *not suffer her to be undecently after she was Dead.* So that there was not any on : present, that was so bitter and vehement a Tyrant-hater, that did not lament and compassionate these

these Maidens, upon their brave and vertuous Behaviour.

Of the innumerable famous Exploits performed by Women, these Examples may suffice: But as for their particular Vertues, we will describe them according as they offer themselves scattered here and there, not supposing that our Present History doth necessarily require an exact Order of Time.

Example 16.

Of Pyeria.

SOME of the *Ionians* who came to dwell at *Miletum*, falling into Contention with the Sons of *Nileus*, departed to *Miunts*, and there took up their Scituation, where they suffered many Injuries from the *Milesians*; for they made War upon them, by reason of their Revolt from them: which War was not indeed without Truces or Commerce; but upon certain Festival Days, the Women of *Miunts* went to *Miletum*. And now there was at *Miunts*, *Pythes*, a renowned Man among them, who had a Wife called *Japygia*, and a Daughter, *Pyeria*. *Pythes*, when there was a Time of Feasting and Sacrificing to *Diana*, among the *Milesians* (which they called *Nelis*) sent his Wife and Daughter, desiring that they might participate of the said Feast: when one of the most potent Sons of *Nileus*, *Phrygeus* by Name, fell in Love with *Pyeria*. He suggests what Service he could do, which might be most acceptable to her? She told him, That he would bring it to pass, that she, with many others, might have their frequent Recourse thither. Hence *Phrygeus* understood that she desired Friendship and Peace with the Citizens of *Miletum*; accordingly he finished the War: Whence arose that great Honour and Renown of *Pyeria* in both Cities; insomuch that the *Milesian* Women do to this day make use of this Benediction to new married Wives, That

their Husbands may love them so as Phrygeus loved Pyeria.

Example 17.

Of Polycrita.

A War arose between the *Naxians* and *Milesians*, upon the account of *Niaira*, the Wife of *Hypsicreon* a *Milesian*. For she fell in Love with *Promedon* a *Naxian*, who was *Hypsicreon*'s Guest. *Promedon* lies with his beloved *Niaira*; and she, fearing her Husband's Displeasure, took Shipping with her *Promedon*, who carried her over into *Naxa*, and placed her a *Suppliant* (Nun) to *Vesta*. The *Naxians* not restoring her (upon Demand) for the Sake of *Promedon*, and making *Devotion* their Pretence, a War arose. To the Assistance of the *Milesians* came in many others; and of the *Ionians*, the *Erythreses* were most ready: So that that War, as it was of long Continuance, so it had great Calamities attending it. But as it was begun by the Lewdness of a Woman, so it was ended by a Woman's Policy. *Diognetus*, a Collonel of the *Erythreses*, holding a Fortification committed to his Keeping, which was cast up against the *Naxians*, lying naturally to great Advantage, and well furnished with Ammunition, took great Spoils from the *Naxians*; yea, he captivated both free married Women, and Virgins: one of which, called *Polycrita* (falling in Love with) he treated not as a Captive, but after the manner of a married Wife. Now a Festival coming in turn to be celebrated among the *Milesians*, in the Camp, and all of them given to their Cups and Luxury, *Polycrita* petitioned *Diognetus*, that he would be pleased to permit her to send some part of the Cakes to her Brethren. He permitting, and bidding her do it, she thrust into a Cake a Piece of Lead, engraven with Writing, and commanded the Bearer to say to her Brethren, That they alone by themselves should eat up what she

she had sent. Accordingly they meeting with the *Plate of Lead*, and reading *Polycrita's* Hand-writing, advising them *that Night to fall upon their Enemies, who, by reason of Excess, caused by their Feasting, were overcome with Wine, and therefore in a careless secure Condition.* They acquainted the Officers with it, and industriously provided to accompany them forth against the Enemies. Upon Engagement, the Field being gotten, and many slain, *Polycrita*, by Entreaty of her Country-men, obtained the Life of *Diognetus*, and preserved him. But she being met by her Country-men at the Gate, receiving her with Acclamations of Joy, and Garlands, and admiring her, could not bear the Greatness of their Applause, but died, falling down at the Gate of the Citadel, where she was buried; and its called, *The Sepulchre of Envy*, as though *Polycrita* was slain by some *Envious Fortune*, so that she could not arrive at the Fruition of her Honours. And thus do the *Maxian* Writers declare the History. But *Aristotle* saith, *That Polycrita was not taken Captive, but otherwise: That by some way or means Diognetus seeing her, fell in Love with her, and was ready to give and do all that he could for the Enjoying her. Polycrita promised to consent to him, provided she might obtain one only thing of him; concerning which (as the Philosopher saith) she requireth an Oath of Diognetus. When he had sworn, she required Delium to be delivered up to her (for that Tract of the Country was called Delium) otherwise that she would not yield to go with him. He being besotted with Lust, and for his Oaths sake, delivered up the Place into the Hands of Polycrita, and she to her Country-men. From henceforward they adjusted Matters so equally, that the Naxians had free Converse, as they pleased, with the Milesians.*

Example 18.

Of Lampface.

THERE were two Brethren, *Phobus* and *Blepfus*, Twins of the Stock of *Codrus*, Natives of *Phocæa*; of which two, *Phobus*, the Elder, threw himself from the *Leucadian* Rocks into the Sea, as *Charo Lampfachenus* hath told us in History. This *Phobus*, having Potency and Royal Dignity, took a Voyage into *Parium*, upon the account of his own private Concerns; and becoming a Friend and Guest to *Mandro* King of the *Bebricians*, the same that were called *Pitueffans*, he aided and assisted him in the War against those of the bordering Inhabitants that molested him: So that when *Phobus* was returning back by Sea, *Mandro* shewed great Civility to him, promising to give him a part of his Country and City, if he would bring over the *Phocæans*, and plant them as Inhabitants in *Pitueffa*. *Phobus* therefore perswading his Country-men, sent his Brother to conduct them over as Planters, and likewise the Obligation was performed on *Mandro's* Part, according to Expectation. But the *Phocæans* taking great Booties, Preys and Spoils from the neighbouring *Barbarians*, were first envied, and after became dreadful to the *Bebricians*; and therefore they desired to be rid of them. As for *Mandro*, being an honest and righteous Person, they could not possess him against the *Græcians*; but he taking a long Journey, they provided to destroy the *Phocæans* by Treachery, *Mandro* had a Daughter called *Lampface*, a Virgin, who was acquainted with the Plot; and first she endeavoured to take off her Friends and Familiars from it, admonishing them, *What a dreadful and ungodly Enterprize they were going upon, viz. to Murder Men that were Benefactors, Military Auxiliaries, and now Citizens.* But when she could not prevail with them, she declared to the *Græcians* their *Clandestine Dealing*,

Dealing, and wished them to stand upon their Guards. Upon this, the *Phocæans* provided a Sacrifice and Feast, inviting the *Pitueffans* into the Suburbs, dividing themselves into two Parts; with one they surpris'd the Walls of the City; with the other, they slew the Men (the Guests.) Thus taking the City, they sent to *Mandro*, desiring him to join in Counsel with them, about Settlements of their Affairs, As for *Lampface*, she died of a Sickness, and they buried her sumptuously, and called the City *Lampface*, after her Name. But when *Mandro*, avoiding all Suspicion of betraying his People, refused to come to dwell among them, and desired this Favour at their Hands, That they would send him the Wives and Children of the Deceased; the *Phocæans* most readily sent them, offering them no Injury at all: And ascribing, in the first place, Heroic Renown of *Lampface*; in the last place, they decree a Sacrifice [of Thanksgiving] to the Goddess, which they continue [yearly] to offer.

Example 19.

Aritaphila.

Aritaphila, a Cyrenian, was not of ancient time, but in the time of the *Mithridatic* War. She arrived at such a Degree of Fortitude and Experience [in State-matters] as might be compared with the Conduct of any Heroic Ladies. She was the Daughter of *Æglæor*, the Wife of *Phidemus*, both renowned Men. She was a great Beauty, excelling in Discretion, and was not unacquainted with the most knotty Pieces of Policy; but the common Disasters of her Native Country rendered her Famous. *Nicocrates* then Tyrannizing over the *Cyrenes*, not only murdered many other Citizens, but also assassinated *Melanippus*, a Priest of *Apollo*, with his own Hand, and held the Priesthood himself. He slew also *Phidemus*, the Husband of *Aritaphila*, and married *Aritaphila* against her Will. Unto a thousand other

ther Villanies, he added this, that he set Guards at the Gates, who mangled the dead Corpses as they were carrying forth, pricking them with their Daggars, and clapping hot Irons to them, lest any Citizen should be carried out privily, under pretence of being a Dead Corps. *Aritaphila's* own proper Calamities were very grievous to her, although the Tyrant, for the Love that he bare to her, suffered her for the most part, to hold some State; for he was very Complimental and Debonair in his Carriage towards her, being otherwise very Rude and Salvage [in his Behaviour to others.] But that which troubled her more than other things, was her miserable Country, suffering such horrid things, in so base a manner; one Citizen being slaughtered after another, without any hopes of a Vindictive Justice from any. The Exiles also were altogether enfeebled, affrighted, and scattered here and there. *Aritaphila* therefore supposed her self to be the only Hope remaining in these Public Calamities, emulating the famous and brave Enterprises of *Thebe* of *Pharea*, and yet together with faithful and intimate Conflictors, and such as the Circumstances of Affairs themselves offered to her. [Upon a time] being alone, in a desolate Condition, she contrived to dispatch her Husband by Poyson; but in providing the Materials, setting her self about it, and trying many Experiments, the Matter could not be hid, but was discovered; and there being Proof made [of the Attempt] *Calbia*, *Nicocrates's* Mother, being naturally of a murdering, implacable Spirit, presently adjudged *Aritaphila* to Torments, and then to be put to Death. But Love abated the Rage of *Nicocrates*, and put him upon Delay; and this also, That she did so undauntedly yield to the Truth of the Accusation, but withal, exhibited a Plea for mitigation of Punishment: For when she took her Tryal, the Preparation she had made for the Poyson was evident in sight, admitting no Denial. She confessed,

feffed, *That she provided Poyson, but not deadly Poyson. But truly, O Sir, she said, I am distressed with Matters of great Concern, by reason of the Honour and Power which by thy gracious Favour I reap the Fruit of. I am maligned by many ill Women, whose Poysons and Treacheries I stand in fear of; and therefore am perswaded to contrive something on the other side, in my own Defence. These are haply foolish and Woman-like Plots, but not such as deserve Death. Moreover, if it seem good to thee, being Judge, to take away thy Wives Life for the sake of Love-potions and Fascinations, then she is found guilty in loving thee more than thou wouldest have her. Notwithstanding this Apology which Aritaphila had made for her self, Nicocrates thought good to commit her to Torments; for Calbia presided in the Judicature, a rigid and inexorable Woman, who condemned her to Torments; but Aritaphila bore up so invincibly under her Tortures, till Calbia her self was tired, sore against her will. But Nicocrates being pacified, discharged her, and was sorry he had tortured her: And it was not very long (being highly transported with Affection) e're he went in again unto her, renewing his Favour towards her, with Honours and courteous Behaviours: But she would not be brought under by Flattery, that held out so stoutly under Tortures and Pains; and an Emulation of Victory, conjoynd with the Love of Honesty, made her betake her self to other Measures.*

She had a Daughter Marriagable, an excellent Beauty; her she presented for a Bait to the Tyrants Brother, a young Stripling, and lasciviously addicted. There was Report, as if Aritaphila used such Enchantments and Witchcrafts towards the Maid, that she plainly mancipated and destroyed the young Man's Reason. He was called Leander. After he was entangled, he petitioned his Brother, and accomplished the Marriage. Now the Maid being partly instructed by her Mother, instigated and perswaded him to set the City at Liberty, insinuating, *That he himself could*

not live long free under an Arbitrary Government, neither marry a Wife, or reserve her to himself. Partly some Friends, *Aritaphila's* Favourites, suggested to him continually some Accusations or Surmises concerning his Brother. But as soon as he perceived that *Aritaphila* was counselling and aiding in these Matters, he undertook the Business, and excited *Daphnis*, a Household-Servant, who slew *Nicocrates* by his Command. In Matters remaining behind, he attended not so much to *Aritaphila*, but presently manifested by his Actions, that he was rather a *Fatricide* than a *Tyrannicide*; for he managed his Affairs perversly and foolishly; but yet he had some Honour for *Aritaphila*, and she had some Interest in him; neither did she manage any Enmity or open Opposition against him, but ordered her Affairs privily. First of all, she stirred up *Anabus*, a certain Duke, to invade his Borders, and approach the City; and then she chargeth the Favorites and Officers to *Leander*, That they should not be forward to fight, but rather ambitious of Peace and Tranquility, which indeed their Affairs and an Arbitrary Government required, to him that will hold his Subjects in firm Subjection: and said, she would affect a Cessation of Arms, and bring *Anabus* to a Parley with him, if he would permit it, before an incurable War break forth. *Leander* gave her Commission. First, she treated with the *African* and with the promise of great Presents and Treasures, obtained that he would seize *Leander* when he came to treat with him. The *African* was perswaded, but *Leander* was backward to it; only for the Respect that he bore to *Aritaphila*, she saying, That she would be present, went unarmed, and unguarded: But as he came nigh, and saw *Anabus*, he made a Hault, and would have waited the coming of his Guards; only *Aritaphila* being present, sometimes encourageth him, sometimes reviled him: But to put an end to the Controversie, she undauntedly lays hold on him, and dragging him resolutely along, delivers him up to the *Barbarian*. He immediately seized, confined

ned and bound, was kept Prisoner by the *Africans*, until *Aritaphila's* Friends, with other Citizens, procured the Treasures promised. Many People acquainted with this, run forth to the Parley; and as soon as they saw *Aritaphila* (they were so transported) that they had like to have forgot their Indignation against the Tyrant, and reckoned the punishing him of no great Concern. But the first work after the Enjoyment of their Liberty, was the Saluting *Aritaphila*, between Acclamations of Joy and Weeping; and falling down before her, as before the Effigies of one of the Gods, the People flocking in one after another, they could scarcely have time that Evening to receive *Leander* again, and return into the City. When they had satisfied themselves in honouring and applauding *Aritaphila*, they turned themselves to the Tyrants; and *Calbia* they burnt alive; *Leander* they sewed up in a Sack, and threw him into the Sea; but voted that *Aritaphila* should bear her share in the Government, together with the Statesmen, and be taken into Counsel. But she, by great Sufferings, having acted a Tragi-Comedy, consisting of various Parts, and at last obtained the Reward of the Garland, as soon as she saw the City set at Liberty, she betook her self to a Cloister, and casting off all multiplicity of Business, she led the rest of her time in Spinning, and finished her Days in Tranquility, among her Friends and Acquaintance.

Example 20.

Here were two most potent Persons among the *Trachies* of *Galaria*, allied by Kin to each other, *Synatus* and *Synorix*; one of which, *Sinatus*, took a Maid to Wife, *Camma* by Name, very comely to behold for Person and Favour, but principally to be admired for Vertue; for she was not only Modest and Loving to her Husband, but she was Discreet, and of a Generous Mind: and by reason of her Genteel and Courteous Behaviour, she

she was extreemly acceptable to her Inferiours ; yea, that which rendred her more eminently renowned, was, that being a Priest of *Diana* (for the *Galatians* worship that Goddess most) she did always appear magnificently adorned with all Pomp at the Sacrifices. Wherefore *Synorix* falling in Love with her, could not prevail, either by Perswasions or Violence, whilst her Husband lived. He commits a horrid Crime : *viz.* He slays *Sinatus* treacherously, and not long after accosts *Camma*, whilst she was conversant in the Temple, and bearing *Synorix's* Crime not in an abject and despondent manner, but with a Mind intent upon, and waiting an Opportunity for, Revenge on *Synorix*. He was importunate in his humble Addresses, neither did he seem to use Arguments that were without all shew of Honesty : For, as in other things he pretended that he far excelled *Sinatus* ; so, *in that he slew him, it was for the Love he bare to Camma, and for no other wicked Design.* The Womans Denials were not at first very peremptory, and then by little and little, she seemed to be softned towards him. Her Familiars and Friends also lay at her in the Service and Favour of *Synorix*, being a Man of great Power, perswading, and even forcing of her. In fine, therefore she consented, and accordingly sent for him to come to her, that the mutual Contract and Covenant might be solemnized in the presence of the Goddess. When he came, she received him with much Courtesie, and bringing him before the Altar, and pouring out some of the Drink-Offering upon the Altar, out of the Phial, part of the Remainder she drank her self, and part she gave him to drink. (The Cup was poysoned Mead.) As she saw him drink it all up, she lift up a shrill loud Voice, and fell down and worshipped her Goddess : *I call thee to Witnesß* (she said) *O most Reverend Divinity, that for this very Days Work sake, I have over-lived the Murther of Sinatus, no otherwise taking any Comfort in this part of my Life, but in the hope of Revenge*
that

that I have had : And now I go down to my Husband. And thou, the leudeſt Perſon among Men, let thy Relations prepare a Sepulchre for thee, inſtead of a Bride-Chamber and Nuptials. When the *Galatians* heard theſe things, and perceived the Poyſon to wamble up and down, and indiſpoſe his Body, he aſcended his Chariot, as intending to ſhake and move himſelf ; but he preſently fainted away, and died that Evening. *Camma* continued all that Night, and being told that he had ended his Life, ſhe comfortably and cheerfully expired.

Example 21.

STRATONICA.

Galatia alſo produced *Stratonica* the Wife of *Deiotaras*, and *Chiomara* the Wife of *Ortiagon* ; both of them Women worth remembrance. *Stratonica* verily knowing that her Husband wanted Children of his own Body to ſucceed in his Kingdom, ſhe being Barren, perſwaded him to beget a Child on another Woman, and ſubject it to her Tutelage. *Deiotaras* wondring at her Propoſal, committed all to her Care upon that account. She provided a comely Virgin for him, from among the Captives, *Electra* by Name, and brought her to lie with *Deiotaras*. The Children begotten of her, ſhe educated very tenderly and magnificently, as if they had been her own.

Example 22.

CHIOMARA.

IT fell out that *Chiomara*, the Wife of *Ortiagon*, was taken Captive with other Women, in the time when the *Romans* overcame the *Galatians* of *Aſia* in Battle. The Centurion that took her, made uſe of his Fortune Soldier-like, and deſiled her ; for he was, as to Voluptu-

ousness and Covetousness, an ill-bred and unsatiable Man, and one over whom his Avarice had gotten an absolute Conquest. A great quantity of Gold being promised by the Woman (for her Ransom) in order to her Redemption, he brought her to a certain River parted in the middle, (*viz.* a *Peninsula*) as the *Galatians* passed over, and paid him the Money in Gold, and received *Chiomara* into their Possession. She gave an Intimation of her Pleasure to one of them by Nod, *viz.* to smite the *Roman* while he was complementing and taking his Leave of her. He obey'd her Commands, and cut off his Head. She takes it, wraps it up in her Apron, and carrieth it with her; and as she came to her Husband, she casts down the Head before him, at which being startled, he said, *O Wife! thy Fidelity is renowned.* Yea, verily (replied she) *it's the more renowned, that there's but one Man only alive that hath ever lain with me.* Polibius saith, That he discoursed with this Woman at Sardis, and he admired her Prudence and Discretion.

Example 23.

Of the Woman of Pergamus.

WHen *Mithridates* sent for sixty Noblemen of *Galatia*, as Friends, he seemed to carry himself abusively and imperiously towards them, which they were all mightily provoked at. *Torodorix*, a Man of a robust Body, and lofty Mind (he was no less than Tetrarch of *Tossops*) designed to lay hold on *Mithridates*, seizing of him when he should be determining Causes on the Bench of Judicature, to force him along with him into the Ditch; but by a certain Chance, he went not up to the Place of Judicature that Day, but sent for the *Galatians* to come Home to him to his Houle. *Torodorix* encourageth them all to Resolution, and that when they should be all come together there, they should fall upon him on every side, slay him

him, and cut his Body in pieces. This (Conspiracy) was not unknown to *Mithridates*, an Intimation of it being given him; accordingly he delivers up the *Galatians* one by one to be slain: But calling to mind a young Man among them, of much account, excelling in Comeliness and Beauty all that were his Equals, he commiserated him, and repented himself, and was apparently grieved (as supposing) him slain among the first; and also sent his Command, That if he were alive, he should remain so. The young Mans Name was *Bepolitanus*. There was a strange Accident befel this Man: When he was apprehended, he had on very gay and rich Apparel, which the Executioner desirous to preserve clean from being stained with Blood, and undressing the young Man leisurely, he saw the Kings Messengers running to him, and hollowing out aloud the Name of the Youth: So that Covetousness, that is the Ruin of many, unexpectedly saved the Life of *Bepolitanus*. But *Torodoric* being slain, was cast forth unburied, and none of his Friends did dare to come near him: Only a certain Woman of *Pergamus*, that was conversant with him while he lived at *Galatia*, attempted to cover his Corps, and bury it: but when the Guards perceived her, they laid hold on her, and brought her before the King: And truly it's reported, That *Mithridates* was much affected at the sight of her; the young Maid seeming altogether harmless; and it seemed so the rather, he being acquainted that Love was the reason [of her Attempt.] He gave her leave therefore to take away the Corps and bury it, and to take Gravecloths and Ornaments at his cost [to that end and purpose.]

Example 24.

T I M O C L E A.

T*Heagenes the Theban engaging in the same Design with Epaminondas, and Pelopida, and other worthy Persons, on the City account, was slain in Cheronæa, in the common concern of Greece, even then when he had conquered his Enemies, and was in pursuit of them : For it was he that answered one, crying out aloud to him, How far wilt thou pursue ? Even (saith he) to Macedonia. When he was dead, his Sister survived him, who gave Testimony that he was nobly descended, and that he was naturally a great Man, and excellently accomplished. Moreover, this Woman was so fortunate, as to reap a great Benefit by his Prowess, that by how much the more common calamities fell upon her, so much the easier she bore them : For when Alexander took Thebes, and the Souldiers fell a Plundering, some in one Part, and some in another, it hapned that a Man, neither Civil nor Sober, but Mischievous and Mad, took up his Quarters in Timocrea's House. He was a Captain to a Thracian Company, the King's Namesake, but nothing like him ; for he having no regard either to the Family or Estate of this Woman, when he had swill'd himself in Wine after Supper, commands her to come and lye with him. Neither ended he here, but enquires of her Gold and Silver, whether she had not some hid by her ; sometime [threatning] as if he would kill her, sometimes [flattering] as that he would always repute her in the place of a Wife. She taking the Occasion offer'd by him, said, I would to God I had died before this Night came, rather than lived to it ; that tho all other things had been lost, I might have preserved my Body free from Abuse : But now seeing it is thus come to pass, and Divine Providence hath thus disposed of it, that I must repute thee my Guardian, Lord and Husband, I will not hold any thing*

thing from thee that is thine own. And as for my self, I see I am at thy Disposition. As for Corporeal Enjoyments, the World was mine, I had Silver Bowls, I had Gold, and some Money ; but when this City was taken, I commanded my Maids to pack it up all together, and threw it into, or rather laid it up in, a Well that had no Water in it : neither did many know of it, for it hath a Covering, and Nature hath provided a shady Wood round about it. Take then these things, and much good may they do thee : As for me, they shall lie by thee, as certain Tokens and Marks of the late Flourishing Fortune and Splendor of our Family. When Macedo heard these things, he stay-ed not for Day, but presently went to the Place by Timoclea's Conduct, commanding the Garden-door to be shut, that none might perceive [what they were about.] He descended in his Morning-Vestment. But the revengeful Clotho brought dreadful things upon him by the Hand of Timoclea, standing on the top of the Well ; for as soon as she perceived by his Voice that he reached the Bottom, she threw down abundance of Stones upon him, and her Maids rolled in many and great ones, till they had dashed him to pieces, and buried him under them. As soon as the Macedonians came to understand this, and had taken up the Corps, there having been late Proclamation that none of the Thebans should be slain, they seized her, and carried her before the King, and declared her audacious Exploit. But the King, by the Gravity of her Countenance, and Stateliness of her Behaviour, did perceive in her something that savoured of the greatest Worth and Nobility ; asked her first, *What Woman art thou ?* She courageously and undauntedly answered, *Theagenes was my Brother, who was a Commander of Cheronæa, and fighting against you in defence of the Grecian Liberty, lost his Life, that we might not suffer any such thing ; and seeing I have suffered things unworthy of my Rank, I refuse not to die ; for it's better so to do, than to experience another such a Night (as the last) unless thou forbid it.* All the most

tender-spirited Persons that were present, broke out into Tears, but *Alexander* was not for pitying the Woman, as being a Woman above it ; but he admired her Fortitude and Eloquence, whereby she had laid open her Mind so feelingly unto him. He charged his Officers to have a special Care, and look to the Guards, lest any such Abuse be offered again to any Renowned Family ; and dismissed *Timoclea* [charging them] to have a special Regard to her, and all that should be found to be of her Family.

Example 25.

ERYXONA.

Archefilaus was the Son of *Battus*, Sirnamed *Felix*, not at all like to his Father in his Conversation. His Father, when he lived, laid a Fine of a Talent upon him, for making Fortifications about his House. His Father dying, and he being of a rugged Disposition (therefore Sirnamed so) making use also of *Laarchus*, an ill Friend, instead of a King, he became a Tyrant ; for *Laarchus* affecting the Government for himself, either banished or slew the Noblemen of *Cyrene*, and charged the Fault upon *Archefilaus* ; and at last casting him into a wasting and grievous Disease, by giving of the Sea hare in his Drink, deprived him of his Life : So that *Laarchus* assumed the Government, under pretence of being Protector to *Archefilaus's* young Son *Battus* ; but the youth, either by reason of his Lameness, or youthful Age, was contemned : as for his Mother, many addressed to her, being a modest and courteous Woman, and had many of the Commons and Nobility (at her Devotion.) Therefore *Laarchus* (pretending himself) her Humble Servant, would needs marry her, and thereby take *Battus* to the Dignity of being his Son, and then allow him a share in the Government ; but *Eryxona* (for that was the Womans Name) taking Counsel of her Brethren, bid *Laarchus* treat with

with them, as if she had designed Marriage; *Laarchus*, accordingly treating with *Erixonas's* Brethren, they on purpose, delay and prolong the business. *Eryxona* sends one of her Maid-Servants, acquainting him, that for the present her Brethren did oppose (the Match) but if they could but accomplish it, so as to lye together once, her Brethren would cease arguing the matter any further, and would give their Consent. He should therefore come to her by Night; if he pleased, an Entrance being once made in a Business, the rest will succeed well enough. These things were mighty pleasing to *Laarchus*, and he was much enflamed by the Womans obliging Carriage towards him, and declared, that he would come to whatever place she should command him. These things *Eryxona* transacted with the Privy of *Polyarchus* her Eldest Brother. A time being now appointed for the Congress, *Polyarchus* placeth himself in his Sisters Bed-Chamber, together with two young Men, that were Sword men, all out of sight, to revenge the Death of his Father, whom *Laarchus* had lately murdered. *Eryxona* sending (at the time) to acquaint him: He enters without his Guard, and the young Men falling upon him, he wounded with the Sword, died, the Corps immediately they threw over the Wall. *Battus* they brought forth and proclaimed King over his Fathers Dominions; and *Polyarchus* restored to the *Cyrenians* their antient Constitution of Government. There were present at that time many Souldiers of *Amasis*, the *Egyptian* King, which *Laarchus* employing, proved faithful to him, and by reason of them, were not a little formidable to the Citizens: These sent Messengers, who accused *Polyarchus* and *Eryxona* to *Amasis*, at which he was greatly incensed, and determined to make War upon the *Cyrenians*. It happened that his Mother dying, and he solemnizing her Funeral; Embassadors came about *Amasis* his own Concern (to *Cyrene*.) Wherefore it was thought best by *Polyarchus* to go and Apologize for himself. *Eryxona* would

not desert him, but was resolved to accompany him, and run the same Hazard with him; nor would his Mother *Crotola* leave him, though she was an old Woman; for great was her Dignity, she being the Sister of old *Batus*, Sirnamed *Felix*. As soon as they came into *Agypt*, as others with Admiration approved of the Exploit: So even *Amasis* himself did not a little applaud the Chastity and Fortitude of *Eryxona*, honouring her with Presents and Royal Attendance, with which he sent back *Polyarchus* and the Ladies into *Cyrene*.

Example 26.

Z E N O C R I T A.

Z *Enocrita* of *Cumæa* deserves no less to be admired for her Exploits against *Aristodemus* the Tyrant, whom some have supposed to be Sirnamed the Effeminate, being ignorant of the true Story. He was called by the *Barbarians* Effeminate, who was [*ἀνδρῆναις*] just come to be adult, or hardly quite so. Now when this Man was a Stripling, and altogether conversant with his Equals in Age, wearing long Hair (which they called *Coronistæ*, as it seems, from their long Hair) he became famous in the War against the *Barbarians*. He was renowned also, not only for Resolution, and Activity; but was very exceedingly remarkable for his Discretion and Providence: in so much that being admired by the Citizens, he proceeded to the highest Dominion among them. He was to bring Aid to the *Romans* when they were in War with the *Herurians*, engaging to restore *Tarquinius Superbus* to his Kingdom; in all which Expedition, that was very long, he managed all Affairs so as to ingratiate himself with the Military part of the Citizens; aiming more at the making himself Head of a Popular Faction, than a General of the Army. He accordingly prevails with them to joyn with him in casting out the Citizens of highest Rank,

Rank, and most Potent, into Exilement; hence becoming absolute and inflagitious Carriages towards Women, and free born Youth, he exceeded even himself in Vileness. For History reports of him, *how that he accustomed the Boys to wear long Hair, and set with Golden Ornaments; and the Girls he compelled to be polled round, and to wear Youths Jerkins, and short-tail'd Petticoats.* Notwithstanding, he had a peculiar Affection for *Zenocrita* (a Girl of *Cuma*) left behind by her exiled Father: Her he kept, but could not bring over to his Humor by any Insinuations or Perswasions; however, he reckoned the Maid would be brought to love him, by constant Conversation with him, and at least, upon this account, envied, and reputed very happy by the Citizens. But these things did not at all besot the Maid; but she took it heinously, that she must be constrained to dwell with him, not Espoused or Married. Neither did she less long for the Liberty of her Native Country, than any that were hated by the Tyrant.

It happened about that time that *Aristodemus* was casting up an Entrenchment about the Borders (of *Cuma*) a Work neither necessary nor profitable; only because he was resolved to tire out the Citizens with hard Toil and Labour; for every one was required to carry out a stinted Number of Baskets of Earth (daily, in order to the delving this Ditch.) A certain Maid, as she saw *Aristodemus* approaching, still ran aside, and covered her Face with her Apron; but when *Aristodemus* was withdrawn, the young Men would sport and jest with her, asking her, *Whether out of Modesty she avoided only the sight of Aristodemus, and was not so affected towards other Men?* She made answer (designedly, rather than otherwise) *That of the Cumæans (she said) Aristodemus was only a Man.* This Sentence thus spoken, verily touched all their Copies; for it provoked the generous minded Men among them (for very shame) to the recovering of their Liberties: And

it's said, that *Zenocrita* was heard to say, *That she had rather carry Earth under her Father (if he were at Home) than participate in the great Luxury and Pomp of Aristodemus.* These things added Courage to them that were about to make an Insurrection against *Aristodemus*, which *Timotele* had the chief Management of; for *Zenocrita* providing them safe admittance, they easily rushing in upon *Aristodemus*, unarmed and unguarded, slew him. In this manner the City of *Cuma* gained its Liberty, by the Vertue of two Women; one by suggesting and enervating the Enterprize; the other, by bringing it to an Issue. When Honours and great Presents were tendred to *Zenocrita*, she refused all; but requested one thing, *That she might bury the corps of Aristodemus.* This they delivered her, and made her a Priestess of *Ceres*; reckoning, *That as it was a deserved Honour bestowed on her, so she would be no less acceptable to the Goddes.*

Example 27.

The Wife of Pytheus.

IT's reported, that the Wife of *Pytheus*, who lived about *Zerxes* his time, was a wife and courteous Woman. *Pytheus* (as it seems) finding by chance some Golden Mines, and falling vastly in love with the Riches got out of them, he was unsatiably and beyond measure exercised about them, and brought down likewise all the Citizens, whom he compelled to dig, or carry, or refine the the Gold, doing nothing else; many of them dying (in the Work) and all being quite worn out. Their Wives laid down their Petition at his Gate, addressing themselves to *Pytheus* his Wife; she bid them all depart, and be of good Cheer; but those Goldsmiths which she confided most in, she required to wait upon her, and confining them, commanded them to make up Golden Loaves,

Leaves, all sorts of Funckets and Summer-fruits, all sorts of Fish and Flesh-meats, in which she knew Pytheus was most delighted. All things being provided, Pytheus coming home then (for he hapned to go a long Journey) and asking for his Supper, his Wife set a Golden Table before him, having no edible Food upon it, but all Golden. Pytheus admired the Workmanship in its imitation (of Nature :) but having satisfied his Visive Faculty, he desired to eat ; but his Wife (when he asked for any one sort) brought it of Gold : Whereupon, being provoked, he cried out, I am an hungred : She replied, Thou hast made none other Provisions for us ; every skilful Science and Art being laid aside, no Man works in Husbandry, but neglecting Sowing, Planting and Tilling the Ground, we delve and search for useles things, killing our selves and our Subjects. These things moved Pytheus, but not so as to give over all his Works about the Mines ; for he now commanded a fifth part of the Citizens to that Work, the rest he converted to Husbandry and Manufactures. But when Zerxes made an Expedition into Greece, Pytheus being most splendid in his Entertainments and Presents, requested a Gracious Favour of the King, He having many Sons, that one might be spared from the Camp, to remain with him, to cherish his Old Age. At which, Zerxes, in a Rage, slew this Son only which he desired, and cut him in pieces, and commanded the Army to march : The rest he took along with him, and all of them were slain in the Wars. At which, Pytheus fell into a despairing Condition, seeing that he fell under the like Suffering with wicked Men and Fools : He dreaded Death, but was weary of his Life ; yea, he was willing not to live, but could not cast away his Life. [He had this Project:] There was a great Borough in the City, and a great River running by it, which they called Pythopolitis : In that Borough he prepared him a Sepulchre, and diverted the Stream so as to run just by the side of the Sepulchre, the River lightly washing the Sepulchre. These things being finished, he

he enters into the Sepulchre, committing the City and all the Government thereof to his Wife; commanding her not to come in to him, but to send his Supper daily laid on a Sloop, only so long, till the Sloop passed by the Sepulchre with the Supper untouched; and then she should cease to send, as supposing him dead. He verily passed in this manner the rest of his Life; but his Wife took admirable care of the Government, and brought in a Reformation of all things amiss among the People.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. I.

Laconic Apophthegms : Or remarkable Sayings of the Spartans.

*Translated from the Greek by Tho. Creech,
A. M. of Wadham-Colledge in Oxford.*

Of Agasicles.

Agasicles the Spartan King, when one admired, *Why, since he was a great lover of Instruction, he would not admit Philophenes the Sophister ?* freely said, *I ought to be their Scholar whose Son I am : And to one inquiring, How a Governour could be secure without Guards ?* He replied, *If he rules his Subjects as Fathers do their Sons.*

Of Agefilas the Great.

Agefilas the Great, being once chosen Steward of a Feast, and askt by the Butler, *How much Wine he allowed every Guest ?* returned, *If you have a great deal provided, as much as every one calls for ; if but a little, give them all an equal share.* When he saw a Malefactor resolutely endure his Torments, *How great a Rascal is this fellow ?* he cryed out, *That uses patient Bravery and Courage in such an impious and dishonest Case !* To one commending an Orator for his Skill in amplifying petty Matters, he said, *I don't think that Shoemaker a good Workman, that makes a great Shoe for a little Foot.* When one in discourse said

said to him, Sir, you have assented to such a thing already, and repeated it very often ; he replied, *Yes, if 'tis right ; but if not, I said so indeed, but never assented :* And the other rejoyning, *But, Sir, a King is obliged to perform whatever he hath granted :* No more, he returned, *than those that petition him, are bound to make none but good and just Respects, and consider all Circumstances of Time, and what befits a King.* When he heard any praise or commend, he thought it as necessary to inquire into the Manners of those that spake, as of those of whom they spake. Whiles he was a Boy, at a certain solemnity of naked Dancing ; the Person that ordered that Affair, put him in a dishonourable place ; and he, though already declared King, endured it ; saying, *I'll shew, that 'tis not the Places that grace Men, but Men the places.* To a Physician prescribing him a nice and tedious course of Physic, he said, *By Heaven, unless I am destined to live, I shall die, though I use all this.* Whilst he stood by the Altar of *Minerva Chaliæca* Sacrificing an Ox, a Louse bit him : At this he never blusht, but crakt him before the whole Company, adding these words, *By all the Gods 'tis pleasant to kill a Plotter at the very Altar.* Another time, seeing a Boy pull a Mouse by the Tail out of his Hole, and the Mouse turn, and bite the Boys Fingers, and so escape ; he bad his Companions take notice of it, saying, *If so little a Creature will oppose injurious violence, what shall we think Men will do ?* Being eager for a War against the Persians, to free the Asiatic Greeks, he consulted the Oracle of *Jupiter at Dodona*, and that telling him, *He should go on as he design'd ;* he brought the Answer to the Ephori, upon which they ordered him to go to *Delpohs*, and put the same question ; he went, and put it in this form, *Apollo, are you of the same Mind with your Father ?* and the Oracle agreeing, he was chosen General, and the War begun : Now when *Tissaphernes* at first being afraid of *Agésilæus*, came to Articles, and
agreed

agreed that the Greek Cities should be free, and left to their own Laws; but afterward procuring a great Army from the King, declared War against him, unless he presently left *Asia*: Glad of this Treachery of *Tessaphernes*, he marcht as if his design was to make an Inroad upon *Caria*, but when *Tessaphernes* had brought his Troops thither, he turned upon *Phrygia*, and took a great many Cities, and abundance of rich Spoil; saying to his Friends, *To break ones Promise is indeed Impious; but to outwit an Enemy, is not only just and glorious, but profitable and sweet.* Being inferior to the Enemy in Horse, he retreated to *Ephesus*, and ordered all the wealthy to provide each a Man and Horse, and that should excuse them from personal Service in his Wars: By which means, in the room of rich Cowards, he was soon furnished with stout Men, and able Horses, and this, he said, *he did in imitation of Agamemnon, who agreed for a serviceable Mare to discharge a wealthy Coward.* When he ordered the Captives to be sold naked, and the Chapmen came, a thousand bade Money for the Cloaths, but all derided the White, by reason of their delicate Breeding, and tender Bodies of the Men as useles, and worth nothing: He said to his Souldiers, *Look those are the things for which, and these are the things with whom ye fight.* Having beaten *Tessaphernes* in *Lydia*, and killed many of his Men, he wasted the Territories of the King; and the King sending Money and desiring a Peace. *Agésilas* replied, *To grant Peace is only in the Power of the Commonwealth: I delight to enrich my Souldiers rather than my self, and think it agreeable to the Honour of the Greeks not to receive Gifts from their Enemies, but take Spoils.* *Megabytus* the Son of *Spitbridates*, a very pretty Boy coming to him, for he thought himself very well beloved, to offer a Kiss and an Embrace; he turned away his Head; but when the Boy had not appeared a long time, *Agésilas* enquired after him, and his Friends replying, *That 'twas his own fault, since he derided the Kiss of the pretty Boy, and the*
Youth

Youth was afraid to come again: Agesilaus standing silent and musing a pretty while, said *Well, I'll use no persuasions; for methinks I had rather conquer such desires, than take the most populous City of my Enemies; for 'tis better to preserve our own, than rob others of their Liberty: In all things else he was very exact, and a strict observer of the Law, but in his friends concerns he thought to be too scrupulous was a bare pretence to cloak ones unwillingness to use our interest: And agreeable to this, there is extant a small Note of his interceding for a Friend to one Ideas a Carian. Nicias is not guilty, discharge him; if he is, discharge him for my sake; but by all means, pray let him be discharged.* This was his usual humour in his Friends concerns, yet sometimes profit and convenience was preferred, for once dislodging in disorder, when he begged and beseecht him with Tears to have compassion, he turned, and said, *'Tis very hard to be pitiful and wise at once.* His Diet was the same with that of his Attendants, he never fed to satisfy, nor drank himself drunk, and used sleep not as a Master, but Servant to his Affairs; so fitted to endure heat or cold, that he alone was undisturbed at the change of seasons; He lodged amongst his Souldiers, and his Bed was as mean as any, having this always in his Mouth; *It befits a Governour to excel private Men not in delicacy and softness, but bravery and courage; and therefore when one askt him, What Good Lycurgus's Laws had brought to Sparta? he replied, Contempt of Pleasure.* And to one that wondered at his and the other Lacedemonians poor attire, he said, *From this course of life, Sir, we reap Liberty.* And to one advising him to indulge more, and saying, *Chance is uncertain, and you may never have the like opportunity again;* he replied, *I accustom my self so, that let whatever change happen, I shall need none.* When he was grown old he continued the same course, and to one asking him, *Why in very cold weather he would not wear a Coat?* he replied, *That the Youth may imi-*

*tate, having the Old men and Governours for Example. The Thasians when he marched through their Country, presented him with Corn, Geese, Sweet-meats, Cheese-Cakes, and all sorts of Delicacies, both of Meat and Drink; he accepted the Corn, but commanded them to carry back the rest, as useless and unprofitable to them. But they importunately pressing him to take all, he ordered them to be given to the *ἐπιδόλαι*, the Slaves; and when some askt the reason, he replied, *they that profess bravery ought not to meddle with such delicacies, and whatever takes with Slaves cannot be agreeable to the Free.* Another time the Thasians after considerable benefits received, made him a God, and dedicated Temples to his honour, and sent an Embassy to complement him on that occasion; when he had read over the honours the Embassadors had brought him, *Well, (said he) and can your Country make Mens Gods? And they affirming: Go to, he rejoyn'd, make your selves all Gods, and when that's done I'll believe you can make me one.* The Greeks in Asia decreeing him Statues, he wrote thus to them, *Let there be no representation of me, either Painted, Founded, or Ingrav'd. In Asia seeing a House Rooft with square Beams, he askt the Master, Whether Trees in their Country were grown Square; and he replying, No, but Round: What then, said he, if they grew square would you make them round? Being askt how far Sparta's bounds extended, shaking a Spear, he reply'd, As far as this will reach. And to another inquiring, Why Sparta was without Walls? he shewed the Citizens in Arms, saying, Look, these are the Walls of Sparta. And to another that put the same question, he reply'd, Cities should not be wall'd with Stones and Timber, but with the Courage of the Inhabitants; and his Friends he advised, not to strive to be rich in Money, but Bravery and Vertue. When he would have his Souldiers do any thing quickly, he before them all, put the first hand to it; he was proud that he wrought as much as any, and valued himself**

more upon ruling his own desires than upon his being King. When one saw a lame *Spartan* marching to the wars, and endeavoured to procure a Horse for him. *How*, said he, *don't you know that War needs those that will stay, not those that will fly*: Being askt, *how he got this great reputation*? he reply'd, *By contemning Death*. And another time one inquiring *why the Spartans used Pipes and Music when they fought*? he said, *That when all move in measure, it may be known who is Brave, and who a Coward*: When he heard one magnifying the King of *Persia's* happiness, who was but young, *Yes*, said he, *Priam himself was not unhappy at that age*: When he had conquered a great part of *Asia*, he design'd to march against the King himself, to break his quiet, and hinder him from corrupting the Popular Men, amongst the *Greeks*, but being recalled by the *Ephori* to oppose the designs which the other States, bought with the Kings Gold, were forming against *Sparta*, saying, *A good Ruler should be governed by the Laws*: He left *Asia* extream sorry at his departure, and because the Stamp of the *Persian* Money was an Archer, he said, *That he was driven out of Asia by thirty thousand of the Kings Archers*; for so many pieces of Gold being carried to *Thebes* and *Athens* by *Timocrates*, and distributed amongst the Popular-Men, the People were excited to War upon the *Spartans*: And this Epistle he sent to the *Ephori*.

Agésilas to the Ephori, Greeting.

WE have subdued a great part of *Asia*, driven out the Barbarians, and furnished *Ionia* with Arms: But since you command me back, I follow, nay almost come before this Epistle: for I am not Governour for my self, but for the Commonwealth: And then a King truly rules according to Justice, when he is governed by the Laws, the *Ephori*, or others that are in Authority in the Commonwealth.

Passing

Passing the *Hellepont*, he march'd thorow *Thrace*, but made no Application to any of the *Barbarians*, only sent to know, *Whether he march'd thorow the Country of an Enemy, or a Friend?* All the others received him friendly, and guided him in his March; only the *Troades* (of whom, as Story says, even *Xerxes* bought his Passage) demanded of *Agésilas* a hundred Talents of Silver, and as many Women: but he scoffingly replied, *Why then do not you come presently to receive what you demand?* And leading on his Army, fought them; and having destroyed a considerable number, march'd thorow. To the King of *Macedon* he sent the same Question; and he replying, *He would consider of it: Let him consider* (saith he) *and let us march.* Upon which the King, surpriz'd at his daring Temper, and afraid of his Force, admitted him as a Friend. The *Thessalians* having assisted his Enemies, he wasted their Country, and sent *Xenocles* and *Scythes* to *Larissa*, in order to a Treaty. These being seized and detain'd, all others stomach'd it extreamly, and were of opinion, that *Agésilas* should storm *Larissa*: But he replying, *He would not give either of their Lives for all Thessaly,* he had them delivered upon Articles. Hearing of a Battle fought near *Corinth*, and that very few of the *Spartans*, but many of the *Corinthians*, *Athenians* and their Allies were slain, he did not appear joyful, or puff up with this Victory; but fetching a deep Sigh, cryed out, *Unhappy Greece, that hath destroyed her self Men enow to have conquered all the Barbarians!* The *Pharsalians* pressing upon and distressing his Forces with Five hundred Horse, he charg'd them, and after the Rout, rais'd a Trophy; And this Victory pleas'd him more then all the others he had won, because with his single Cavalry he had beaten those that vaunted themselves as the best Horsemen in the World, *Diphidas* bringing him Commands presently upon his March to make an Inroad into *Beotia*, tho in a short time, when he was better provided, he design'd

the same thing ; he obey'd, and sending for Twenty thousand from the Camp at *Corinth*, march'd into *Beotia*, and at *Coronæa* joyning Battle with the *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Corinthians* and *Locrians*, all together, he won, tho desperately wounded himself, the greatest Battle (as *Xenophon* affirms) that was fought in his Age : And yet when he returned, after so much Glory, and so many Victories, he made no alteration in his Course of Life. When he saw some of the Citizens think themselves brave Fellows for breeding Horses for the Race, he perswaded his Sister *Cunisca* to get into a Chariot, and put in for the Prize at the *Olympian Games* ; intending by that way to convince the *Greeks*, That 'twas no Argument of Bravery, but Wealth, and profuse Expence. Having entertain'd and carest'd *Xenophon* the Philosopher, he ordered his Children to be brought up in *Sparta*, where they might learn the most excellent of Arts, viz. How to govern, and to be governed. And being ask'd, By what means the *Lacedæmonians* flourish'd above others ? Because, says he, they are more studious how to rule, and how to obey, than others. When *Lyfander* was dead, he finding a strong Faction which *Lyfander* upon his return from *Asia* had associated against him, he was very eager to shew the People what manner of Citizen *Lyfander* was whilst he lived ; and finding an Oration compos'd by *Creon* the *Halicarnassæan*, which *Lyfander* was to speak to the People, about New Designs, and to change the Government, he resolv'd to publish it : But when an old Polititian, perusing the Discourse, and fearing its Effect upon the People, advis'd him not to dig up *Lyfander*, but rather bury the Speech with him, he follow'd the Advice, and made no more on't. Those of the contrary Faction he did not openly molest, but by cunning Contrivance he got some of them into Office, and then shew'd them to be Rascals, when in Power : and then defending, or getting their Pardon, when accus'd, he brought them over to his own Side, so that he had

had no Enemy at last. To one desiring him *to write to his Acquaintance in Asia, that he might have Justice done him*; he replied, *My Acquaintance will do thee Justice, tho I don't write.* One shew'd him the Wall of a City strongly built, and well fortified, and ask'd him, *Whether he did not think it a fine thing?* Yes, by Heaven, he return'd, *for Women, but not for Men to live in.* To a Megarensian, talking great things of his City, he said, *Youth, thy Words want an Army.* What he saw others admire he seem'd not so much as to know; and when Callipides, a Man famous among the Greeks for acting Tragedies, and caress'd by all, met him, and saluted him, and then impudently intruding amongst his Companions, shew'd himself, supposing that Agesilaus would take notice of him, and begin some familiar Discourse; and at last ask'd, *Doth not your Majesty know me? Have you not heard who I am?* He look'd upon him, and said, *God so, art not thou Callipides the Δεικνύκτας, the Merry Andrew?* for that's the Name the Lacedaemonians give an Actor. Being once desired to hear a Man imitate a Nightingale, he refus'd, saying, *I have often heard the Bird it self.* Menecrates the Physician, for his good Success in some desperate Diseases, was call'd *Jupiter*; and he priding himself in the Name, and presuming to write to Agesilaus thus, Menecrates Jupiter, *to King Agesilaus χαίρειν, Greeting.*

Reading no more, he presently wrote back;

King Agesilaus, to Menecrates ὑγιαίνειν, Sobriety.

When Conon and Pharnabazus with the King's Navy were Masters of the Sea, and wasted the Coasts of Laconia and Athens, Pharnabazus defraying the Charges, was surrounded with a Wall; the Lacedaemonians made a Peace with the Persian, and sending Antalcidas, one of their Citizens, to Tiribazus, they agreed to deliver into the King's Hands all the Asiatick Greeks, for whose Freedom Agesilaus fought: Upon which account Agesilaus was not at all blemish'd by this dishonourable Treaty: for Antalcidas

was his Enemy, and clapp'd up a Peace on purpose, because the War rais'd Agefilauts, and got him Glory. When one said, *The Lacedæmonians Μηδίζουσιν, lean to the Median Interest*: he replied, *Rather the Medes Δακονίζουσιν, lean to the Lacedæmonian*. And being ask'd, *Which was the better Vertue, Courage or Justice?* He said, *Courage would be good for nothing, if there were no Justice; and if all Men were just, there would be no need of Courage*. The *Asians* being wont to stile the King of *Persia*, *The Great*: *How*, said he, *is he Greater than I am, if not more Just or Temperate?* And he us'd to say, *The Greeks in Asia were mean-spirited Freemen, but stout Slaves*. And being ask'd, *How one might get the greatest Reputation amongst Men?* He replied, *By speaking the best, and doing the bravest things*. And he had this Saying commonly in his Mouth. *A Command should be daring against his Enemy, and kind and good-natur'd to his own Souldiers*. When one ask'd him, *What Boys should learn?* That, said he, *which they shall use when Men*. When he satè Judge upon a Cause, the Accuser spake floridly and well; but the Defendant meanly, and ever now and then repeated these Words, *Agefilauts, a King should assist the Laws*: What, said he, dost think if any one dug down thy House, or took away thy Coat, a Mason or a Weaver would assist thee? A Letter being brought him from the King of *Persia*, by a *Persian* that came with *Callias the Spartan*, after the Peace was concluded, offering him *Friendship and kind Entertainment*; he would not receive it, bidding the Messenger tell the King, *That there was no need to send private Letters to him; for if he was a Friend to Sparta, and meant well to Greece, he would do his best to be his Friend; but if he design'd upon their Liberty, let him know, that though he receiv'd a thousand Letters from him, he would be his Enemy*. He was very fond of his Children; and 'tis reported, That once toying with them, he got astride upon a Reed, and rid about the Room; and being seen by one of his Friends,

he

he desired him not to speak of it till he had Children of his own. When he had fought often with the *Thebans*, and was wounded in the Battle, *Antalchidas*, as 'tis reported, said to him, *Indeed, Sir, you have received a very fair Reward for instructing the Thebans, whom, when ignorant and unwilling, you have forc'd to learn the Art of War:* For Story tell us, the *Lacedæmonians* at that time, by frequent Skirmishes, had made the *Thebans* better Souldiers than themselves. And therefore *Lycurgus*, the old Law-giver, forbade them to fight often with the same Nation, lest they should learn their Discipline. When he understood that the Allies took it very ill, that in their frequent Expeditions, they, being great in number, followed the *Spartans*, that were but few; designing to shew their mistake about the Number, he order'd all the Allies to sit down in one Body, and the *Lacedæmonians* in another by themselves: Then making Proclamation, That all the *Potters* should rise first; and when they stood up, the *Brassiers* next, then the *Carpenters*, next the *Masons*, and so all other Trades in order; almost all the Allies stood up, and not one of the *Spartans*; for their Law forbids them all Mechanical Employments: Then said *Agésilæus*, with a smile, *See now how many Souldiers we provide more than you.* When at the Battle at *Leuctra* many of the *Spartans* fled, and upon that account were obnoxious to the Laws, the *Ephori* seeing the City had but few Men, and stood in great need of Souldiers at that time, would free them from the Infamy, yet still keep the Laws in force. Upon that account they put the Power of making Laws into *Agésilæus* his hands; and he coming into the Assembly, said, *I'll make no new Law, nor add to, nor take away, nor change any of your old, but order that the Laws you already have be in force from to morrow.* *Epaminondas* rushing on with a Torrent and Tide of Force, and the *Thebans* and their Allies being puffed up with this Victory, tho he had but an inconsiderable number, he

repuls'd them from the City, and forc'd them to retreat. In the Battle at Mantinea he advis'd the Spartans to neglect the others, and fight Epaminondas only; saying, *That the Wise alone was the Stout Man, and the Cause of Victory: and therefore if we take him off, we shall quickly have the rest; for they are Fools, and worth nothing.* And it hapned accordingly; for Epaminondas having the better of the Day, and the Spartans routed, as he turned about and encouraged his Souldiers to pursue, a Lacedæmonian gave him his Deaths Wound: He falling, the Spartans that fled with Agesilaus rallied, and turn'd the Victory; the Thebans appearing to have much the worse, and the Spartans the better of the day. When Sparta, having a great many hired Souldiers in pay, wanted Money to carry on the War, Agesilaus, upon the King of Egypt's desire, went to serve him for Money: but the Meanness of his Habit brought him into contempt with the People of that Country; for they, according to their bad Notions of Princes, expected that the King of Sparta should appear like the Persian, gaudily attired: But in a little time he sufficiently convinced them, *That Majesty and Glory were to be gotten by Prudence and Courage.* When he found his Men discouraged at the Number of the Enemies (for they were 200000) and their own Fewness, just before the Engagement, without any Mans privy, he contriv'd how to encourage them; and in the hollow of his Left-hand wrote VICTORY, and taking the Liver from the Priest, he put it into that Hand, and held it a pretty while, pretending he was dissatisfied in some Appearance, till the Characters were imprinted on the Flesh; and then shewed it to the Souldiers, telling them, *The Gods gave certain Signs of Victory by these Characters.* Upon which, thinking they had sure Evidence of good Success, they marched resolutely to the Battle. When the Enemies much exceeding him in number, made an Intrenchment round his Camp, and Neelabius, whom he then assisted,

urg'd

urg'd him to fight, *I would not*, said he, *hinder our Enemies from making their number as small as ours* : And when the Trench was almost drawn round, ordering his Army in the Middle-space, and so fighting upon equal Terms, with those few Souldiers he had, he routed and killed a-bundance of the Enemy, and sent home a great Treasure. Dying in his Voyage from *Egypt*, he commanded his Attendants not to make any Figure or Representation of his Body : For, said he, *if I have done any brave Action, that will preserve my Memory ; if not, neither will a thousand Statues, the Works of base Mechanics.*

Of Agefipolis the Son of Cleombrotus.

Agesipolis the Son of *Cleombrotus*, when one told him, *That Philip had raz'd Olynthus in a few days*, said, *Well, but he is not able to build such another in twice that time.* To one saying, *That whilst he was King, he himself was an Hostage, with some other Youths, and not their Wives nor Children* : Very good, he replied ; for 'tis fit we our selves should suffer for our own Faults. When he designed to send for some Whelps from home, and one said, *Sir, none must be carried out of the Country* ; he replied, *Nor Men heretofore, but now they may.*

Of Agefipolis the Son of Pausanias.

Agesipolis the Son of *Pausanias*, when the Athenians appeal'd to the Megarensians, as Arbitrators of the differences between them, said: 'Tis a shame, Athenians, *that the Lords of all Greece should understand what is right and just, less than the People of Megara.*

Of Agis the Son of Archidamus.

Agis the Son of *Archidamus*, when the Ephori gave orders, *Go take the Youth, and follow this Man into his own Country, and he shall guide thee to the very Citadel*, said, *Is it not very prudent to trust so many Youths, to the fidelity of him, who betrays his own Country* ? Being askt what

what Art was chiefly learned in *Sparta*, To know, he reply'd, *how to Govern, and to be Governed*; and used to say, *The Spartans do not inquire how many the Enemies are, but where they are.* At *Mantineia*, being advised not to fight the Enemy, who exceeded him in number, he said, *'Tis necessary for him to fight a great many, that would rule a great many*: To one inquiring how many the *Spartans* were, *Enow*, he reply'd, *to chastise Invaders*, Marching by the Walls of *Corinth*, and perceiving them to be high and strong, he said, *What Women live there?* To an Orator that said, *Speech was the best thing*; he rejoyn'd, *You then, when you hold your Tongue, are worth nothing.* When the *Argives*, after they had been once beaten, faced him more boldly than before, he seeing many of the *Allies* disheartened, said, *Courage, Sirs, for when we Conquerors shake, what do you think is the condition of the Conquered?* To an Ambassador from the *Abderites*, after he had ended his long Speech, inquiring what Answer he should carry to his City, he reply'd, this, *as long as you talk, so long I quietly heard*: Some commending the *Eleans* for exact Justice, in determining the prizes at the *Olympian Games*, he said, *What great wonder is it, that in five years, they can be just one day?* To some that told him, he was envied by the Heirs of the other Family, *Well*, said he, *their own misfortunes will torment them, and mine, and my Friends success*: When one advised him to give the flying Enemy free room to run, he said, *How shall we fight those that stand to it, and resist; if we dare not engage those whom their Cowardise makes fly.* When one propos'd a way to free *Greece*, well contriv'd indeed, but hard to be brought about; he said, *Friend, thy words want an Army, and a Treasure.* To one saying, *Phillip won't let you set a Foot upon any other part of Greece*, he returned, *Sir, we have room enough in our own Country.* An Ambassador from *Perinthum* to *Lace'demon*, after a long, tedious Speech, asking what Answer he should carry back to the *Perinthians*, he said,

What

What but this? Thou canst scarce end thy talk, and I my silence. He went by himself Ambassador to Philip, and Philip saying, What! but one! he replied, I am an Ambassador but to one. An Old Man observing that the ancient Laws were neglected, and that new evil Customs crept in, said to him, that was now grown old himself, All things here at Sparta, are turned topsy turvy, he replied with a joque, If 'tis so, 'tis agreeable to reason, for when I was a Boy, I heard my Father say, that all things were then topsy turvy, and he heard his Father say the same, and 'tis no wonder if succeeding times are worse than the preceding, but 'tis if they happen to be better, or but just as good. Being asked, How a Man should be always free, he replied, if he contemns death.

Of Agis the younger.

Agis the Younger, when Demades said, The Spartans Swords are so short, that our Fuglers can easily swallow them, replied, Yet the Spartans can reach their Enemies with these Swords. A base fellow often asking, Who was the bravest of the Spartans, he said, He that is most unlike *shee*.

Of Agis the last.

Agis, the last King of *Lacedemon*, being taken and condemned by the *Ephori*, without hearing, as he was lead to the Gallows, seeing one of the Officers weeping, Do not weep for me, he said, who being so unjustly, so barbarously condemned, am in a better condition than my Murderers, and having spoken thus, quietly submitted himself to the Halter.

Of Acrotatus.

Acrotatus, when his Parents commanded him to joyn in some unjust action, denied for some time, but when they grew importunate, he said, *When I was under*
your

your power, I had no notion of Justice, but now you have delivered me to my Country, and her Laws, and to the best of your Power have taught me Loyalty and Justice, I shall endeavour to follow those before you, and since you would have me do that which is best, and just actions are best for a private Man, much more for a Governour; I shall do what you would have me, and refuse what you command.

Of Alcamenes the Son of Telechus.

Alcamenes the Son of Telechus, being askt, How a Ruler might best secure his Government, replyed, By slighting Gain. And to another, inquiring why he refused the Presents the Messenians made him, he said, Because if I had taken them, I and the Laws could never have agreed. When one said, That though he had Wealth enough, he lived but meanly; he replyed, Well, 'tis a glory for one that hath abundance, to live as Reason, not as Appetite directs.

Of Alexandridas the Son of Leo.

Alexandridas the Son of Leo, said to one that was much concerned at his banishment from the City, Good Sir, be not concerned that you must leave the City, but that you have left Justice. To one that talkt too much, and impertinently, to the Ephori, he said, Sir, ἐκ ἐν δέοντι τῷ δέοντι χεῖν. And one askt him, why they let their ἐπιδόται, the Slaves, manure the Fields, and did not take care of them themselves; Because, he replyed, we keep those on purpose that we might take care for our selves only, and not for them. Another, saying, Desire of reputation causes abundance of mischief, and those are happy, that are free from it; Then, he subjoyn'd, it follows that Villains are happy, for do you think, that he that commits Sacrilege, or doth an injury, takes any care for Credit and Reputation? Another asking, why in a Battle, the Spartans venture upon any danger? Because, said he, we are only care-
ful

ful of our lives, not as others afraid of them. Another demanding, Why the Judges took so many days to pass Sentence in a Capital Cause; and why he that was acquitted, was still kept on his good Behaviour? He replied, *They consult so long, because after Execution there is no recalling of the Sentence; and the Criminal is still on his Behaviour, because they might correct their Judgment, either by the same Statute upon which he was Indicted or a better.*

Of Anaxander the Son of Eurycrates.

A Naxander the Son of Eurycrates, to one asking him, Why they laid up no Money in the Exchequer? replied, *That the Keepers of it might not be tempted to be Knaves.*

Of Anaxilas.

A Naxilas, when one wondred for what reason the Ephori did not rise up to the Kings, since the Kings made them; said, *'Tis for the same reason for which they are Ephori.*

Of Androclidas.

A ndroclidas, a Spartan, having lost one Leg, listed himself; and when some refused him because he was maimed, he said, *It must not be those that can run away, but those that can stand to it, that must fight the Enemy.*

Of Antalcidas.

A ntalcidas, when he was to be initiated in the Samothracian Mysteries, being asked by the Priest, What great Sin he had committed in all his Life? replied, *If I have committed any, the Gods know it already.* To an Athenian that called the Lacedaemonians, Illiterate, he said,

said, *True ; for we only have learned no ill from you.* Another Athenian saying, *We have often beat you back from Cephissus ; he subjoyned, But we never repulsed you from Eurotas.* To another demanding how one might please Men most ? He replied, *By speaking what delights, and doing what profits them.* A Sophister being about to read to him an Encomium of Hercules, he said, *Why, who discommends him ?* To Agesilaus, when he was wounded in a Battle by the Thebans, he said, *Sir, you have a fine Reward for forcing them to learn the Art of War :* For by the many Skirmishes Agesilaus had with them, they learned Discipline, and became good Souldiers. He said, *The Youth are the Walls of Sparta ; and the Points of their Spears, it's Bounds.* To one inquiring, why the Lacedemonians fight with such short Swords ? he replied, *We come up close to our Enemies.*

Of Antiochus.

Antiochus, one of the Ephori, when he heard Philip had bestowed some Lands on the Messenians, said, *Well, but hath Philip also given them Courage to take his Gift ?*

Of Arigeus.

Arigeus, when some praised not their own, but other Mens Wives, said, *Faith, about vertuous Women there should be no common Talk ; and what Beauty they have, none but their own Husbands should seem to understand.* As he was walking through Selinus, a City of Sicily, seeing this Epitaph upon a Tomb,

*Those that extinguish'd the Tyrannic Flame,
Surpriz'd by War, and hasty Fate,
Though they are still alive in lasting Fame,
Lie buried near Selinus Gate.*

said,

said, *You died deservedly, for quenching it when already in a Flame ; for you should have hindred it from coming to a Blaze.*

Of Aristo.

Aristo, when one commended Cleomenes his Saying, who being asked, *What a good King should do ?* replied, *Good turns to his Friends, and Evil to his Enemies :* said, *How much better is it Sir, to do good to our Friends, and make our Enemies our Friends ?* This though upon all hands it is agreed Socrates spoke first, yet he hath the Credit of it too, To one asking, *How many the Spartans were in number ?* he replied, *Enow to chase our Enemies.* An Athenian making a Funeral Oration in praise of those that fell by the Hand of the Lacedæmonians ; he said, *What brave fellows then were ours, that conquered these ?*

Of Archidamus.

Archidamus, to one commending Charilus for being kind to all alike ; said, *How can he deserve Commendation, that is gentle to the Wicked and Unjust ?* When one was angry with Hecatæus the Sophister, because when admitted to the Public Entertainment, he said nothing ; he said, *Sir, you seem not to understand, that he that knows how, knows also when to speak.*

Of Archidamus the Son of Zeuxidamus.

Archidamus, the Son of Zeuxidamus, when one asked him, *Who are Governors at Sparta ?* replied, *The Laws, and the Magistrates according to those Laws.* To one that praised a Fidler, and admired his Skill, he said, *How must you prize brave Men, that can give a Fidler such a Commendation ?* when one recommending a Musician to him, said, *This Man plays well upon the Harp ;* he returned, *And this Man makes Broth well :* As if 'twere no more to raise Pleasure,

Pleasure, and tickle with a Sound than to make Broth. To one that promised him very sweet Wine, he said, *To what purpose ? for we shall spend the more, and make our Strength useless.* When he besieged Corinth, seeing some Hares started under the very Walls, he said to his Souldiers, *Our Enemies may be easily surpris'd.* Two chusing him Arbitrator, he brought them both into the Temple of *Minerva Chalcieca*, and made them swear to stand to his Determination, and when they had both sworn, he said, *I determine that you shall not go out of this Temple till you have ended all the Differences between you.* *Dionysius* the *Sicilian* Tyrant sending his Daughters some very rich Apparel, he refused it, saying, *When this is on, I'm afraid they'll look ugly and deformed.* When he saw his Son rashly engaging the *Athenians*, he said, *Pray get more Strength, or a less Spirit.*

Of Archidamus Son of Agesilaus.

Archidamus the Son of *Agesilaus*, when *Phillip*, after the Battle at *Cheronea*, sent him a haughty Letter returned this Answer : *If you measure your Shadow, you will find it no greater than before the Victory.* And being asked, how much Land the *Spartans* possess ? he said, *As much as their Spears reach.* *Periander*, a Physitian, being well skill'd in his Profession, and of good Credit, but writing very bad Poems, he said to him, *Why, Periander, instead of a good Physitian, are you eager to be called a bad Poet ?* In the War with *Phillip*, when some advised him to fight at some distance from his own Country ; he replied, *Let us not mind that, but whether we shall fight bravely, and beat our Enemies.* To some commending him for routing the *Arcadians*, he said, *It had been better if we had been too hard for them in Policy, than Strength.* When he invaded *Arcadia*, understanding that the *Eleans* were ready to oppose him, he wrote thus: *Archidamus to the Eleans: 'Tis good to be quiet.* The Allies in the *Peloponnesian* War consulting

sulting what Treasure would be sufficient to carry on the War, and desiring to set the Tax, he said, *War cannot be at a certain allowance.* As soon as ever he saw a Dart shot out of an Engine brought from Sicily, he cried out, *Good God ! True Valour is gone for ever.* When the Greeks refused to obey him, or stand to those Conditions which he had made with Antigonius and Craterus the Macedonians, but would be free, alledging that the Spartans would prove more rigorous Lords than the Macedonians ; he said, *A Sheep always uses the same voice ; but a Man, various and many, till he hath perfected his designs.*

Of Asticratides.

Asticratides, When one after Agis the King was beaten by Antigonius at Megalapolis, said to him, what will you Spartans do ? will you serve the Macedonians ? He replied, *Why so ? Can Antigonius hinder us from dying in the defence of Sparta.*

Of Bias.

Bias being surprized by an Ambush that Iphicrates the Athenian General had laid ; and his Souldiers demanding what must be done ? he replied, *You must provide for your own safety, and I must fight manfully and die.*

Of Brasidas.

Brasidas catching a Mouse amongst some dry Figs, the Mouse Bit him ; upon which he let her go, and said to his Companions, *There is nothing so little, but may preserve it self, if it dares resist the Invaders.* In a Battle, being shot through the Shield into the Body, he drew the Dart out, and with it killed his Enemy : And one asking how his wound came, he replied, *By the treachery of my Shield.* As he was leading forth his Army, he wrote to the Ephori, *What is for the Honour of the State in*

this War, I will perform, or die. Being killed as he fought to free the *Greeks* in *Thrace*, the *Embassadors* that were sent to *Sparta* to condole his loss, made a Visit to his Mother *Archilones* : and the first question she askt, was, *Whether Brasidas died bravely ?* and the *Thracians* extolling him, and saying, There was no such Man in the world ; *You mistake, Sirs,* said she, *'tis true, Brasidas was a brave Man, but Sparta can shew a Thousand better.*

Of Damonides.

Damonides, When the Master of the Solemnity set him in the lowest place, said, *Well, Sir, you have found a way to make that place which was infamous before, noble and honourable.*

Of Damis.

Damis to some Letters that were sent to him, intimating, That he should vote *Alexander* a God ; return'd this Answer, *We are content that Alexander, if he will, be called a God.*

Of Damindas.

Damindas, when *Philip* invaded *Peloponesus*, and one said, The *Spartans* will suffer great Mischiefs, unless they accept his Proposals, said, *Thou Woman-Man, what Misery can we suffer that despise Death ?*

Of Dercyllidas.

Dercyllidas being sent Ambassador to *Pyrrhus*, who was then with his Army on the Borders of *Sparta*, and required them either to receive their King *Cleonymus*, or he would make them know they were no better than other Men ; replied, *If he is a God, we don't fear him ; for we have committed no fault ; if a Man, we are as good as he.*

Of Demaratus.

Demaratus, when Orontes talkt very roughly to him, and one said, *Demaratus, Orontes uses you very roughly ; replied, I have no reason to be angry, for those that speak to please, not those that talk out of malice, do the Mischief.* To one enquiring, why they disgrace those that lose their Shields in a Battle ; and not those that lose their Head-pieces, or Breast-plates ; he answered, *Because those serve for their private Safety only, but their Shield for the common defence, and strength of all the whole Army.* Hearing one play upon the Harp, he said, *The Man seems to play the Fool well :* In a certain Assembly, when he was askt, Whether he held his Tongue because he was a Fool, or for want of words ? he replied, *A Fool cannot hold his Tongue.* When one askt him, why being King he fled Sparta ? he answered, *Because the Laws rule.* A Persian having by many Presents enticed the Boy that he loved from him, and saying, *Spartan, I have caught your Love,* No faith, he answered, *but you have bought him.* One having revolted from the King of Persia, and by Demaratus perswasion returning again to his obedience, and the King designing his Death, Demaratus said, *'tis dishonourable, O King, whilst he was an Enemy, not to be able to punish him for his Revolt, and to kill him now he is a Friend.* To the King's Jester that often jeer'd him about his Exile, he said, *Sir, I will not fight you, for I have lost my proper Post.*

Of Emerepes.

Emerepes, one of the Ephori, cut two of the nine strings of Phynis the Musician's Harp, saying, *Do not abuse Music.*

Of Epenætus.

Epenætus said, *That Lyars were the Causes of all Villanies, and Injustice in the world.*

Of Euboides.

Euboides hearing some commend another Man's Wife, disliked it and said, *None beside the Family should take notice of the Perfections of a Woman.*

Of Eudamidas the Son of Archidamus.

Eudamidas the Son of Archidamus, and Brother of Agis, seeing Xenocrates now grown old, Philosophizing in the Academy with some of his Acquaintance, askt, *What old Man that was?* and it being answered, He is a wise Man, and one of those that seek after Vertue: he replied, *When will he use it, if he is seeking of it now?* Another time, when he heard a Philosopher discoursing, That none but a learned Man could be a good General; he said, *Indeed the Discourse is admirable, but he that makes it of no credit in this Matter, for he hath never heard a Trumpet sound.* Just as Xenocrates had finished his Discourse, Eudamidas came into his School, and when one of his Companions said, As soon as he came, he ended; So he ought, he replied, *if he had spoken all that was needful on the Subject:* And the other saying; Shall we have Repetition? he replied, *If we visited one that had Supped already, should we desire him to sit down again?* When one askt him, Why when all the Citizens Voted a War with the Macedonians, he appeared for Peace? he answered, *Because I have no mind to convince them of their Mistake.* Another, to encourage them to this War, mentioning their various Victories over the Persians, he said, Sir, you seem to believe, that 'tis all one to beat a Thousand Sheep, and fight Fifty Wolves. A Musician playing very well, some askt him, What manner of Man he was in his opinion?

and

and he answered, *A great Seducer in a small matter.* Hearing one commending *Athens*, he said, *Who hath reason to praise that City which no good Man ever loved?* An *Argive* saying, That the *Spartans* being taken from their own Customs grow worse by Travail; he replied, *But you when you come into Sparta do not return worse, but much better.* When *Alexander* ordered by public Proclamation in the *Olympic Games*, That all Exiles whatever, except the *Thebans*, had free liberty to return to their own Country, *Eudamidas* said, *This is a woeful Proclamation to you Thebans, but yet honourable; for of all the Grecians Alexander fears only you.* Being askt why before a Battle they Sacrific'd to the Muses? he replied, *That our brave Actions may be worthily Recorded.*

Of *Eucratides the Son of Anaxandridas.*

E*ucratides the Son of Anaxandridas*, when one askt him, why the *Ephori* sat every day to determine Causes about Contracts; replied, *That we might learn to keep our word even with our Enemies.*

Of *Zeuxidamus.*

Z*euxidamus*, when one askt him why they did not set down all their Laws concerning Bravery and Courage in writing, and let the Young Men read them; he answered, *Because they should be accustomed to mind valiant Actions, rather than Books and Writings.* An *Ætolian* saying, That War was better than Peace for those that would be brave Men; No faith (said he) but Death than Life.

Of *Herondas.*

H*erondas*, when one at *Athens* was condemned for Idleness, being informed of it, desired one to shew him the Man that was punished for being free.

Of Thearides.

Thearides whetting his Sword, being askt, is it sharp, Thearides ? replied, *Yes, Sharper than a Slander.*

Of Themistocles.

Themistocles the Prophet, foretold the King Leonidas his own and all his Souldiers destruction at Thermopylae, and being commanded by Leonidas to return to Sparta, under pretence of informing the State how Affairs stood, but indeed, that he might not perish with the rest, he refused, saying, *I was sent as a Souldier, not as a Courier to carry News.*

Of Theopompus.

Theopompus, when one askt him, how a Monarch may be safe ? reply'd, *If he will give his Friends just Freedom to advise, and to the best of his power be ready to punish the unjust.* To a Stranger a Friend of his that said, *In my own Country I am called φιλολάκων, a lover of the Spartans ; he replied, It would be more honourable for you to be called φιλοπολίτης, a lover of your own Citizens, than φιλολάκων, a lover of the Spartans.* An Ambassador from Elis, saying, *That City sent him, because he was the only Man amongst them that admired and followed the Spartan way of living ; Theopompus askt, And pray, Sir, which way is best, your's or the other Citizens ? And the Ambassador replying, Mine ; he subjoyned, How then can that City stand, in which amongst so many Inhabitants there is but one good Man ? When one said, Sparta was preserved because the Kings knew how to govern : No (he replied) but because the Citizens know how to be governed.* The Pillians voting him greater Honours, he wrote to them thus, *Moderate Honours time augments, but defaces the Immoderate.*

Of Therycion.

Therycion in his return from *Delphos*, seeing *Philips* Army posselt of the Streights at *Isthmus*, said, *Pe-loponefus hath very bad Potters in you Corinthians.*

Of Theſtamenes.

Theſtamenes, when the *Ephori* condemned him to die, went away ſmiling, and one of the Company askt him, *Whether he diſpiſed the Judicial Proceedings of Sparta?* No (ſaid he) *but I am glad that I am ordered to pay that fine which I can do out of my own Stock, without being behold- ing to any Man, or taking up Money upon Intereſt.*

Of Hippodamus.

Hippodamus, when *Agis* was joyned in Command with *Archidamus*, being ſent with *Agis* to *Sparta*, to look after Affairs there; ſaid, *By this means, Sir, I ſhall loſe the Opportunity of a brave Death in Defence of Sparta.* He was above Fourſcore Years of Age, yet he put on his Armor, fought on the Right Hand of the King, and died bravely.

Of Hippocratidas.

Hippocratides, when the Governor of *Caria* ſent him word, That he had a *Spartan* in his Hands, who conceal'd a Conſpiracy that he was privy to; and askt how he ſhould deal with him; returned this Answer, *If you have done him any great Kindneſs, kill him; if not, baniſh him as a baſe Fellow, and too mean Spirited to be good.* A Youth whom his Lover followed, meeting him, and bluſhing at the Encounter, he ſaid, *You ſhould keep ſuch Company, that whoever ſees you, you ſhould have no Reaſon to change Colour.*

Of Callicratidas.

C*allicratidas* the Admiral, when some of *Lyfander's* Friends desir'd him to permit them to kill one of the Enemies, and offer'd Fifty Talents for the Favour; though he wanted Money extreamly to buy Provision for his Souldiers, refus'd; and when *Cleander* urged him and said, Sir, I would take the Money if I were you, he replied, *So would I, were I Cleander.* When he came to *Sardis* to the Junior *Cyrus*, who was then an Ally of the *Lacedæmonians*, about a Summ of Money to Equip his Navy, on the first day he ordered his Officers to tell *Cyrus*, *That he desired Audience.* But being told, *That he was drinking; Well* (said he) *I shall stay till he hath done.* But understanding that he could not be admitted that day, he presently left the Court, and thereupon was thought a rude and uncivil Fellow. On the next day, when he received the same Answer, and could not be admitted, he said, *I must not be so eager for Money, as to do any thing unbecoming Sparta:* and presently set Sail for *Ephesus*, cursing those who had first endured the Insolence of the *Barbarians*, and taught them to rely upon their Wealth, and abuse others; and swore to his Companions, *That as soon as ever he came to Sparta, he would do all that lay in his power to reconcile the Greek States, that they might be more dreadful to the Barbarians, and not forced to seek Assistance from them to Ruine one another.* Being ask'd what manner of Men the *Ionians* were? *Bad Freemen* (said he) *but good Slaves.* When *Cyrus* sent his Souldiers their Pay, and some particular Presents to himself, he received the Pay, but sent back the Presents, saying, *There was no need of any Private Friendship between those two; for the Common League of the Lacedæmonians included him.* Designing to engage near *Arginousa*, when *Hermon* the Pilot said, 'Tis advisable to tack about, for the *Athenians* exceed us in Number: *What then,* said he, *'tis Base and Dishonourable*

able to Sparta to fly; but to stand to it, and die or conquer, brave and noble. As he was Sacrificing beforce the Battle, when he heard the Priest presaging, *That the Army should conquer, but the Captain fall*; undauntedly he said, *Sparta doib not depend on one Man; my Country will receive no great Loss by my Death, but a considerable one by my yielding to the Enemy.* And ordering Cleander to succeed as Admiral, he readily engag'd, and died in the Battle.

Of Cleombrotus the Son of Pausanias.

Cleombrotus the Son of Pausanias, when a Stranger, a Guest of his, contended with his Father, which was the best Man? said, *Sir, my Father must be better than you, till you get a Son as well as he.*

Of Cleomenes the Son of Anaxandrides.

Cleomenes the Son of Anaxandrides was wont to say, *That Homer was the Poet of the Lacedæmonians, Hætiad of the Εἰλωται, the Slaves: For one taught the Art of War, and Husbandry the other.* Having made a Truce for seven days with the Argives, he watch'd his Opportunity the third Night, and perceiving them secure and negligent by reason of the Truce, fell upon them whilst they were asleep, and kill'd some, and took others Prisoners. Upon this, being upbraided for breach of Articles, he said, *His Oath did not extend to Night as well as Day; and to hurt a Mans Enemies any way, both before God and Man, was much better than to be just.* It hapned that he mist taking Argos, in hopes of which he broke his Oath: for the Women taking the old Arms out of the Temples, defended the City: and afterwards running stark mad, he ripp'd himself up from the very Angles to the Vital Parts, and thus grinning and laughing died. The Priest advising him not to march to Argos,

for

for he should be forc'd to a dishonourable Retreat; when he came near the City, and saw the Gates shut, and the Women upon the Walls, he said, *What, Sir Priest, will this be a dishonourable Retreat, when the Men being all lost, the Women have shut the Gates?* When some of the Argives rail'd at him as an impious and forsworn Wretch, he said, *Well, 'tis in your power to rail at me, and in mine to mischieve you.* The Samian Ambassadors urging him to make War on the Tyrant Polycrates, and making long Harangues on that account, he said, *The beginning of your Speech I don't remember, and therefore I can't understand the middle, and the last I don't like.* A Pyrate spoiling the Country, and when he was taken, saying, *I had no Provision for my Souldiers, and therefore went to those who had store, to force it from them, unless willingly bestow'd;* Cleomenes said, *True, Villany goes the shortest way to work.* A base Fellow railing at him, he said, *Well, I think thou railest at every body, that being employ'd to defend our selves, we may have no time to speak of thy Baseness.* One of the Citizens saying, *That a good King should be always mild and gracious:* True, said he, *as long as he doth not make himself contemptible.* Being tormented with a long Disease, he consulted the Priests and Expiators, to whom he formerly gave no credit; and when a Friend of his wondered at the Action, *Why dost wonder?* said he, *for I am not the same man I was then; and since I am not the same, I do not approve the same things.* A Sophister discoursing of Courage, he laugh'd exceedingly; and the Sophister saying, *Why do you laugh, Cleomenes, when you hear one treat of Courage, especially since you are a King?* Because, Sir, said he, *if a Swallow should discourse of it, I should laugh; but if an Eagle, hearken attentively.* When one rail'd at him, and said, *Thou art luxurious, Cleomenes:* Well, he replied, *that's better than to be unjust; but thou art covetous, and Master of abundance of Superfluities.* A Friend willing to recommend a Musician to him, besides other large Com-

menda-

mendations, said, *He was the best Musician in all Greece.* Cleomenes pointing to one that stood by, said, *Faith, Sir, that Fellow is my best Cook.* Meander the Samian Tyrant, upon the Invasion of the Persian, flying to Sparta, discovering what Treasure he had brought, and offering Cleomenes as much as he would have, Cleomenes refus'd, and beside took care that he should not give any of the Citizens a Farthing; but going to the Ephori, told them, *That it would be good for Sparta to send that Samian Guest of his out of Peloponnesus, lest he should persuade any of the Lacedæmonians to be a Knave.* And they taking his advice, ordered Meander to be gone that very day. One asking, *Why, since they had beaten the Argives so often, they did not totally destroy them?* That we may, he replied, *have some to exercise our Youth.* One demanding, *Why the Spartans did not dedicate the Spoils of their Enemies to the Gods?* Because, said he, *they are taken from Cowards; and such things as are betray'd to us by the Cowardice of the Possessors, are neither fit for our Youth to see, nor to be dedicated to the Gods.*

Of Cleomenes the Son of Cleombrotus.

Cleomenes the Son of Cleombrotus, to one that presented him some Game-Cocks, and said, *Sir, these will die before they run;* return'd, *Pray let me have some of that Breed which will kill these; for certainly they are the better of the two.*

Of Labotus.

Labotus, to one that made a long Discourse, said, *Why such great Preambles to so small a Matter? A Speech should be no bigger than the Subject.*

Of Leotychidas.

Leotychidas the First, when one said, *He was very inconstant,* replied, *My Inconstancy proceeds from the variety*

riety of Times, and not, as yours, from innate Baseness. And to another asking him, *What was the best way to secure his present Happiness?* answered, *Not to trust all to Fortune.* And to another inquiring, *What free born Boys should principally learn?* That, said he, *which will profit them when they are grown Men.* And to another, asking, *Why the Spartans drink little?* he replied, *That we might consult concerning others, and not others concerning us.*

Of Leotychidas the Son of Aristo.

L Eotychidas the Son of Aristo, when one told him, *That Demaratus's Sons spake ill of him; Faith, no wonder,* he replied; *for not one of them can speak well.* A Serpent twisting about the Key of his inmost Door, and the Priests declaring it a Prodigy; *I cannot think it so,* said he: *but it had been one, if the Key had twisted round the Serpent.* To one Philip, a Priest of Orpheus's Mysteries, in extream Poverty, saying, *That those whom he initiated were very happy after Death;* he said, *Why then, you Sot, don't you die quickly, and bewail thy Poverty and Misery no more?*

Of Leo the Son of Eucratidas.

L Eo the Son of Eucratidas being askt, *In what City a Man might live with the greatest safety;* replied, *In that where the Inhabitants have neither too much, nor too little, where Justice is strong, and Injustice weak:* Seeing the Racers in the Olympian Games very solicitous at starting to get some advantage of one another, he said, *How much more careful are these Racers to be counted swift, than just!* To one discoursing of some profitable matters out of due season, he said, *Sir, your Discourse is very good, but ill tim'd.*

Of Leonidas the Son of Anaxandridas.

Leonidas the Son of Anaxandridas, and Brother to Cleomenes, when one said to him, Bating, that you are King, you are no better than us ; replied, *But unless I had been better than you, I had not been King.* His Wife Gorgo understanding that he designed for Thermopyle to fight the Persian, askt him, What commands he left with her, and he replied, *Marry a Brave Man, and bear him Brave Children :* The Ephori saying, You lead but few to Thermopile ; They are many, said he, *considering on what design we go :* And when they again askt him, whether he had any other enterprize in his Thoughts ; he replied, *I pretend to go to hinder the Barbarians passage, but really to die fighting for the Greeks.* When he was at Thermopile, he said to his Souldiers, *They report the Enemy is at Hand, and we lose time, for we must either beat the Barbarian, or die our selves :* And to another saying, The flights of the Persian Arrows will darken the very Sun, he said, *Therefore 'twill be pleasant for us to fight in the shade :* And another saying, They are near us : he replied, *Then we are near them :* And another saying, What, Leonidas, do you come to fight so great a number with so few ? he returned, *If you esteem by number, all Greece is not able to match a small part of that Army, if by Courage this number is sufficient :* And to another discoursing after the same manner, he said, *I have enough to be killed.* When Xerxes wrote to him thus, Sir, you may forbear to fight against a God, but follow my Interest, and be Lord of all Greece ; he answered, *If you understood wherein consisted the happiness of Life, you would not covet other Mens, but know that I had rather die for the Liberty of Greece, than be a Monarch o're my own Country Men :* And Xerxes writing to him again thus, Send me thy Arms, he returned, *Come and take them :* When he resolved to fall upon the Enemies, and the chief

chief directors of the War told him, he must stay till the forces of the Allies had joyned him, he said, *Do you think all those that intend to fight are not here already? or, don't you understand that those only fight, who fear or reverence their Kings? and ordered his Souldiers so to Dine, as to Sup in another World:* And being askt, Why the Bravest Men prefer an honourable Death before an Infamous Life; *Because,* said he, *they believe one is the gift of Nature; the other the improvement of themselves:* Being desirous to save the Striplings that were with him, and knowing very well, that if he dealt openly with them, none would accept his kindness, he gave each of them privately a *συστάλην*, a Ticket to carry to the Ephori, and desirous likewise to save three of those that were grown Men, they having some notice of his design, refused the Ticket, and one of them said, *I came, Sir, to be a Souldier, not a Courrier:* And the Second, *I shall be a better Man if here, than if away:* And the Third, *I will not fight after these, but I'll engage first.*

Of Lochagus

Lochagus the Father of Polyainides, and Syron, when one told him, One of his Sons was dead, said, *I knew long ago that he must die:*

Of Lycurgus the Law-giver.

Lycurgus the Law-giver, designing to reclaim his Citizens from their former Luxury, bring them to a more sober course of Life, and (for they were then loose and delicate) make them brave Men; bred up two Whelps of the same Litter; one he kept at home, bred him tenderly, and fed him well, but the other he taught to Hunt, and us'd him to the Chace: both these Dogs he brought out into the public Assembly, and setting down
some

Some scraps of meat, and letting go a Hare at the same time each of the Dogs ran greedily to what they had been accustom'd, and the Hunter catching the Hare, *Lycurgus* said, *See Country-men, how these two, though of the same Litter by my breeding them, are become very different, and that Custom and Exercise conduces more to make things Brave and Excellent than Nature*: Some say that he did not bring out two Whelps of the same Kind, but one a House-Dog, and the other a Hunter, the former of which, though the baser kind, he had accustom'd to the Woods, and the other, though more noble, kept lazily at home, and when, in public each of them pursuing his usual delight, he had given a clear evidence that education is of considerable force in raising bad or good inclinations, he said, *Therefore, Country-men, our honourable extraction, that Idol of the Crowd, though from Hercules himself, profits us little, unless we learn, and exercise all our life in such famous exploits, as made him accounted the most noble, and the most glorious in the World*: When he had made a division of the Land, and given each Man an equal Portion, 'tis reported, that some while after in his return from a journey, as he pass'd through the Country in Harvest-time, and saw the Cocks of Wheat all equal, and lying promiscuously, he was extremely pleas'd; and with a smile said to his Companions, *All Sparta looks like the possession of many loving Brothers who have lately divided their Estate*. Having discharg'd every Man from his debts, he endeavour'd likewise to divide all Moveables equally amongst all, that he might have no inequality in his Commonwealth. But seeing that the rich Men would hardly endure this open and apparent Spoil, he cry'd down all Gold and Silver Coyn, and order'd nothing but Iron to be Current: and rated every Mans Estate, and defin'd how much it was worth upon exchange for that Money: By this means all injustice was banished *Sparta*, for none would Steal, none take Bribes, none Cheat, or rob any Man of that which

he

he could not conceal, which Store none would Envy, which could not be us'd without discovery, or carried into other Countries with advantage: Besides, this contrivance freed them from all superfluous Arts, for no Merchant, Sophister, Fortune-teller, or Mountebank would live amongst them, no Carver, no Contriver ever troubled *Sparta*, because he cry'd down all Money that was advantageous to them, and permitted none but this Iron Coyn, each piece of which was an *Ægina* Pound, and the Value but half a Farthing. Designing farther to check all luxury and greediness after Wealth, he instituted public Meals, where all the Citizens were obliged to eat; and when some of his Friends demanded, what he designed by this Institution, and why he divided the Citizens when in Arms, into small Companies? he replied, *That they may more easily bear the Word of Command; and if there are any Designs against the State, the Conspiracy may join but few: and besides that there may be an equality in the Provision, and that neither in Meat nor Drink, Seats, Tables, or any Furniture, the Rich may be better provided than the Poor.* When he had, by this Contrivance, made Wealth less desirable, it being unfit both for Use and Shew, he said to his Familiars, *What a brave thing is it, my Friends, by our Actions to make Pluto appear, as he is indeed, Blind?* He took care that none should Sup at home, and afterwards, when they were full of other Victuals, come to the Public Entertainments; for all the rest reproach'd him that did not feed with them, as a Glutton, and of too delicate a Palate for the Public Provision: and when he was discovered, he was severely punished. And therefore *Agis* the King, when after a long absence he returned from the Camp (the *Athenians* were beaten in that Expedition) willing to sup at home with his Wife once, sent a Servant for his Allowance; the Officers refus'd, and the next day the *Ephors* fined him for the Fault. The *Ephors* being offended at these Constitutions, made a Mutiny against him,

him, abus'd, threw Stones, and designed to kill him. Thus pursued, he ran thorow the Market-place, towards the Temple of *Minerva Chalcieca*, and reached it before any of the others; only *Alexander* pursuing close, struck him as he turned about, and beat out one Eye: Afterward the Commonwealth delivered up this *Alexander* to his Mercy; but he neither inflicted any Punishment, nor gave him an ill Word, but kindly entertained him at his own Table, and brought him to be his Friend, an Admirer of his Course of Life, and very well affected to all his Laws: Yet he built a Monument of this sad Disaster in the Temple of *Minerva*, naming it *Optiletis*, for the *Dores* in that Country call Eyes *Oprilous*. Being asked, Why he used no written Laws? Because, he replied, *Those that are well instituted, are able to suit Matters to the present Occasion.* And another time, when some enquir'd, why he had ordain'd, that the Timber which roofed the Houses should be wrought with the Ax only, and the Doors with no Instrument but the Saw? He answered, *That my Citizens might be moderate in every thing which they bring into their House, and possess nothing which others so much prize and value.* And hence 'tis reported, That King *Leotichides* the First, Supping with a Friend, and seeing the Roof curiously Arched, and richly wrought, asked him, Whether in that Country the Trees grew square? And some demanding why he forbad them to War often with the same Nation? he replied, *Lest being often forced to stand on their Defence, they should get Experience, and be Masters of our Art:* And therefore 'twas a great Fault in *Agefilas*, by his frequent Incurſions into *Beotia*, to make the *Thebans* a Match for the *Lacedaemonians*. And another asking, Why he exercis'd the Virgins Bodies with Racing, Wrestling, throwing the Bar, and the like; He answered, *That the first Rooting of the Children being strong and firm, their Growth might be proportionable; and that the Women might have strength to bear, and more easily undergo*

the Pains of Travel; or, if necessity requires, be able to fight for themselves, their Country, and their Children: Some being displeased that the Virgins went about naked at certain Solemnities, and demanding the reason of that Custom; he replied, That using the same exercises with Men, they might equal them in strength and health of Body, and in Courage, and Bravery of Mind; and be above that mean Opinion which the Vulgar had of them. And hence goes the Story Gorgo, Leonidas his Wife, that when a Stranger a Friend of hers, said, You Spartan Women only rule Men; she replied, Good reason; for we only bear Men. By ordering, That no Batchellor should be admitted a Spectator of those naked Solemnities, and fixing some other disgrace on them, he made them all eager to be married, and get Children. Besides, he deprived them of that Honour and Observance which the Young Men were bound to pay their Elders; and upon that account none can blame what was said to Dercyllidas, tho a brave Captain; for as he passed by, one of the Young Men refused to rise up and give him place, saying, You have not begotten any to give place to me. When one asked him, why he allowed no Dowry to be given with a Maid? he answered, That none might be slighted for their Poverty, or courted for their Wealth; but that every one considering the Manners of the Maid, might chuse for the sake of Vertue. And for the same Reason he forbid all painting of the Face, and Curiousness in Dress and Ornament. To one that asked him, why he made a Law, That before such an Age neither Sex should marry? he answered, That the Children might be lusty, being born of Persons of full Age. And to one wondring why he would not suffer the Husband to lie all Night with his Wife, but commanded them to be most of the Day and all the Night with their Fellows, and creep to their Wives cautiously, and by stealth; he said, I do it that they might be strong in Body, having never been satiated and surfeited with Pleasure:

that

that they might be always fresh in Love, and their Children more strong and lusty. He forbid all Perfumes, as nothing but good Oil corrupted and spoiled; the Dyers Art, as a Flatterer and Enticer of the Sense; and all skilled in Ornament, and Dressing, as those who by their lewd Devices corrupt the true Arts of Decency and Living well. At that time the Women were so chaste, and such Strangers to that Lightness to which they were afterwards addicted, that Adultery was incredible: and there goes a Saying of Gadaratas, one of the ancient Spartans, who being asked by a Stranger, what Punishment the Spartans appointed for Adulterers? (for *Lycurgus* mentioned none) he said, Sir, *we have no Adulterer amongst us.* And he rejoicing, but suppose there should be: *Gadaratas* replied, *We have no other Punishment; for how can there be an Adulterer in Sparta, where Wealth, Delicacy, and all Ornament is disesteemed; and Modesty, Neatness, and Obedience to the Governours, only in request.* When one desired him to establish a Democracy in Sparta; he said, *Pray Sir, do you first set up that Form in your own Family.* And to another, demanding, why he ordered such mean Sacrifices? he answered, *That we might always be able to honour the Gods.* He permitted the Citizens those Exercises only in which the Hand is not stretched out; and one demanding his Reason, he replied, *That none in any Labour should be accustomed to be weary.* And another inquiring, why he ordered, that in War the Camp should be often changed? he answered, *That we might damage our Enemies the more.* Another demanding, why he forbid to Storm a Castle? he said, *Lest my Brave Men might be kill'd by a Woman, a Boy, or some Man of as mean Courage.* When the Thebans asked his Advice about the Sacrifices and Lamentation which they instituted in honour of *Leucothea*, he gave them this: *If you think her a Goddess, do not lament; If a Woman, do not sacrifice to her as a Goddess: To some of the Citizens inquiring how they should avoid the Invasions*

of Enemies, he replied, *If you are poor, and one covets no more than another: And to others demanding, why he did not wall his City; he said, That City is not unwall'd which is encompassed with Men, and not Brick: The Spartans are curious in their Hair, and tells us that Lycurgus said, That it makes the handsome more amiable, and the ugly more terrible.* He ordered, that in War they should pursue the routed Enemy so far, as to secure the Victory, and then retreat; saying, *It was unbecoming the Grecian Bravery, to butcher those that fled, and beside, 'twas useful for their Enemies knowing that they spared all that yielded, and cut in pieces the opposers, would easily conclude, that it was safer to fly, than to stand stoutly to it, and resist.* When one asked him, why he charged his Souldiers not to meddle with the spoil of their slain Enemies, he replied, *Lest, whilst they are eager on their prey they neglect their fighting, but that they might keep their Order and Poverty together.*

Of Lyfander.

Lyfander, when Dionysius sent him two Gowns, and bad him chuse which he would, to carry to his Daughter; said, *She can chuse best,* and so took both away with him. This Lyfander being a very crafty fellow, frequently using Subtle Tricks, and Notable Deceits, placing all Justice and Honesty in Profit and Advantage, would confess, that *Truth indeed was better than a Lye, but the worth and dignity of either to be defin'd by their usefulness to our Affairs.* And to some that were bitter upon him for these deceitful Practices, as unworthy of Hercules's Family, and owing his success to little mean tricks, and not plain force, and open dealing; he answered with a smile, *When the Lion's Skin cannot prevail, a little of the Foxes must be used.* And to others that upbraided him for breaking his Oaths made at Miletum, he said, *Boys must be cheated with Cock-All-Bones, and Men with Oaths.* Having surpris'd the Athenians by an Ambush near the

Goats-

Goats-rivers routed them ; and after by Famine forc't them to surrender, he wrote to the Ephori, *Athens is taken.* When the Argives were in a debate with the Lacedæmonians about their Confines, and seemed to have the better reasons on their side drawing his Sword. *He that hath this* (said he) *is the best pleader about confines.* Leading his Army through Beotia, and finding that State wavering, and not fixt on either Party, he sent to know, *Whether he should march through their Country with his Spears up or down.* At an Assembly of the States of Greece, when a Megaransian talkt sawcily to him, (he said) *Sir, your words want a City.* The Corinthians revolting, and he approaching to the Walls, when he saw the Spartans not eager to storm, and at the same time a Hare skipping over the Trenches of the Town ; *Are not you ashamed* (said he) *to be afraid of those Enemies, whose slothfulness suffers even Hares to sleep upon their Walls.* At Samothrace, as he was consulting the Oracle, the Priest ordered him to confess the greatest crime, he had been guilty of in his whole life ; *What*, said he, *is this your own or the Gods Command ?* and the Priests replying, *The Gods ;* then said he, *Do you withdraw and I'll tell them if they make any such demand.* A Persian asking him, what Polity he liked ; *That* he replied, *which Assigns stout Men and Cowards suitable rewards.* To one that said, Sir, I always commend, and speak in your behalf, *Well*, said he, *I have two Oxen in the Field, and though neither says one word, I know very well which is the Laborious, and which the lazy.* To one that railed at him, he said, *Speak fast, Sir, let us have all if thou canst empty thy Soul of those wicked Thoughts which thou seemest full.* Some time after his death, there happening a difference between the Spartans and their Allies, Agesilaus went to Lysanders House to inspect some Papers that lay in his custody relating to that matter : and there found an Oration composed for Lysander, concerning the Government, setting forth, *that 'twas expedient to set aside the Families of the*

the Euruproditæ, and Agidæ, to permit all to have an equal claim, and chuse their King out of the worthiest Men, than the Crown may be the reward not of those that soared in the Blood of Hercules, but were like him for Vertue and Courage, that Vertue that exalted him into a God. This Oration Agesilaus was resolved to publish, to shew the Spartans how much they were mistaken in Lysander, and to discredit his Friends : But they say, Cradites the President of the Ephori fearing this Oration, if published, would prevail upon the People, advised Agesilaus to be quiet, telling him, That he should not dig up Lysander, but rather bury that Oration with him, being so cunningly contriv'd, so powerful to perswade, Those that Courted his Daughters ; and when at his death he appeared to be poor, forsook them, the Ephori fin'd ; because whilst they thought him Rich, they carressed him, but scorned him, when by his Poverty they knew him to be just and honest.

Of Namertes.

Namertes, being on an Embassy, when one of that Country told him, he was a happy Man in having so many Friends ; askt him, if he knew any certain way to try whether a Man had many Friends or no ; and the other being earnest to be told ; Namertes replied, Adversity.

Of Nicander.

Nicander, when one told him, that the Argives spake very ill of him : Well, (said he) they suffer for speaking ill of good Men. And to one that inquired, why they wore long Hair, and long Beards ; he answered, Because Mans Natural Ornaments are the handsomest and the cheapest. An Athenian saying, Nicander, you Spartans are extream Idle ; You say true, he answered, but we do not busie our selves like you in every trifle.

Of Panthoidas.

WHen *Panthoidas* was Ambassador in *Asia*, and some shewed him a strong Fortification, *Faith*, said he, *'tis a fine Cloister for Women*. In the Academy, when the Philosophers had made a great many and excellent Discourses, and askt *Panthoidas* how he liked them: *Indeed*, said he, *I think them very good, but of no profit at all, since you your selves don't use them*.

Of Pausanias the Son of Cleombrotus.

P*ausanias*, the Son of *Cleombrotus*, when the *Delians* pleaded their Title to the Island against the *Athenians*, and urged, that according to their Law, no Women were ever brought to Bed, or any Carcass buried in the Isle, said, *How then can that be your Country, in which not one of you was born, or shall ever lie?* The *Exiles* urging him to March against the *Athenians*, and saying, *That when he was proclaimed Victor in the Olympic Games, they alone hissed*; *How*, says he, *since they hissed whilst we did them good, what do you think they will do when abused?* When one askt him, why they made *Tyrtaeus* the Poet a Citizen; *Because*, he answered, *no Foreigner should be our Captain*. A Man of a weak and puny Body, advising to fight the Enemy both by Sea and Land; *Pray*, Sir, says he, *will you unstrip and shew what a Man your are that advises to engage*. When some amongst the spoils of of the *Barbarians* admired the richness of their Cloths, it had been better, he said, *they had been Men of worth themselves, than possess things of worth*. After the Victory over the *Medes* at *Platea*, he commanded his Officers to set before him the *Persian* Banquet that was already drest, which appearing very sumptuous; *By Heaven*, quoth he, *the Persian is an abominable Glutton, who when he hath such delicacies at home, comes to eat our Barly-broth*.

Of Pausanias the Son of Plistonax.

Pausanias the Son of Plistonax replied, to one ask'd him, *Why it was not lawful for the Spartans to abrogate any of their old Laws, Because Men ought to be subject to Laws, and not Laws to Men.* When banish'd, and at Tegea he commended the Lacedæmonians, one said to him, *why then did you stay at Sparta?* And he returned *Physicians are not conversant amongst the Healthy, but the Diseased.* To one asking him, *how they should Conquer the Thracians?* he replied, *If we make the best Man our Captain.* A Physician, after he had felt his Pulse, and consider'd his Constitution, saying, *he ails nothing:* 'Tis because, Sir, he replied, *I use none of your Physic.* When one of his Friends blamed him for giving a Physician an ill Character, since he had no Experience of his Skill, nor received any Injury from him: *No faith,* said he, *for had I tryed him, I had not lived to give this Character.* And when the Physician said, *Sir, you are an Old Man:* That happens, he replied, *Because you were never my Doctor.* And he was us'd to say, *He was the best Physician who did not let his Patients rot above ground, but quickly buried them.*

Of Paidaretus.

Paidaretus, when one told him, the Enemies are numerous: *Therefore,* said he, *we shall get the greater Reputation; for we shall kill the more.* Seeing a Man soft by Nature, and a Coward, commended by the Citizens for his Lenity and good Disposition, he said, *We should not praise Men that are like Women, nor Women that are like Men, unless some Extremity forceth a Woman to stand upon her guard.* When he was not chosen into the three hundred (the Chief Order in the City) he went away laughing, and very jocund; and the Ephori calling him back, and asking why he laughed? *Why,* said he, *I congratulate*

gratulate the Happiness of the City, that enjoys Three hundred Citizens better than my self.

Of Pleistarchus.

Pleistarchus the Son of Leonidas, to one asking him, why they did not take their Names from the first Kings? replied, *Because the former were rather Captains than Kings, but the latter otherwise.* A certain Advocate using a Thousand little Jest in his Pleading, Sir, said he, *you don't consider, that as those that often wrestle, are Wrestlers at last; so you, by often exciting Laughter, will become ridiculous your selves.* When one told him, that a notorious Railer spoke well of him: *I'll lay my Life,* said he, *some body hath told him I am dead; for he can speak well of no Man living.*

Of Pleistonax.

Pleistonax the Son of Pausanias, when an Athenian O-rator call'd the Lacedaemonians, Unlearned Fellows? 'Tis true, said he, *for we alone, of all the Greeks, have not learn'd any Ill from you.*

Of Polydorus.

Polydorus the Son of Alcamenes, when one often threat-ned his Enemies, said to him, do not you perceive, Sir, that you waiste a great part of your Revenge? As he marched his Army against Messena, a Friend asked him, if he would fight against his Brothers? No, said he, *but I put in for an Estate to which none, as yet, hath any good Title.* The Argives, after the Fight of the Three hundred, being totally routed in a set Battle, the Allies urged him not to let the Opportunity slip, but storm and take the City of the Enemies; for it would be very easie, now all the Men were destroyed, and none but Women left. He replied, *I love to vanquish my Enemies*

mies when I fight on equal Terms ; nor do I think it just in him who was Commissioned to contest about the Confines of the two States, to desire to be Master of the City : for I came only to recover our own Territories, and not to seize theirs. Being ask'd once, why the Spartans ventur'd so bravely in a Battle? Because, said he, we have learned to reverence, and not fear our Leaders.

Of Polycratides.

Polycratides being joyned with others in an Embassy to the Lieutenants of the King, being asked whether they came as Private or Public Persons? return'd, *If we obtain our Demands, as Public ; if not, as Private.*

Of Sæbidas.

Sæbidas, just before the Battle at *Leuctra*, when some said, this Day will shew a brave Man : replied, *'Tis a fine Day indeed, that can shew a brave Man alive.* 'Tis reported, That when his Army was shut up by the *Clitorians* in a disadvantageous Streight, and wanted Water, he agreed to restore all the Places he had taken, if all his Men should drink (the Enemies had secured the Spring) of the Neighbouring Fountain. These Articles being sworn to, he conven'd his Souldiers, and promis'd to give him the Kingdom, who would forbear drinking; but none accepting it, he went to the Water, sprinkled himself, and so departed, whilst the Enemies looked on; and therefore refus'd to restore the Places, because he himself had not drunk:

Of Telecrus.

Telecrus, to one reporting, that his Father spake ill of him, replied, *He would not speak so unless he had reason for it.* When his Brother said, the Citizens have not that kindness for me they have for you, but use me more

more courtly, though born of the same Parents, he replied, *You do not know how to bear an Injury, and I do.* Being ask'd what was the Reason of that Custom among the Spartans, for the Younger to rise up in reverence to the Elder? *Because* (said he) *by this Behaviour towards those to whom they have no Relation, they might learn to reverence their Parents more.* To one inquiring what Wealth he had? he return'd, *No more than enough.*

Of Charillus.

Charillus being ask'd why *Lycurgus* made so few Laws? *Because,* he replied, *those whose Words are few, need but few Laws.* Another inquiring why their Virgins appear in public unveil'd, and their Wives veil'd? *Because,* said he, *Virgins ought to find Husbands, married Women keep those they have.* To a Slave saucily opposing him he said, *I would kill thee, if I was not angry.* And being askt what Polity he thought best? *That,* said he, *in which most of the Citizens, without any disturbance, condemn Vertue.* And to a Friend inquiring why amongst them all the Images of the Gods were arm'd, he replied, *That those Reproaches we cast upon Men for their Cowardice, might not reflect upon the Gods, nor our Youth supplicate the Deities unarmed.*

The Remarkable Speeches of some Obscure Men amongst the Spartans.

When the *Samian* Ambassadors had made a long harangue, the Spartans answered, *We have forgot the first part, and so cannot understand the last.* To the Thebans violently contesting with them about something, they replied, *Your Hearts should be less, or your Forces greater.* A Lacedemonian being askt why he kept his Beard so long, *That seeing my Grey Hairs* (he replied) *I may do nothing but what becomes them.* One commending the best Warriors,

Warriors, a *Spartan* that over-heard said, at *Troy*. Another hearing that some forced their Guests to drink after Supper said, *What not to eat too?* *Pindar* in his Poems having called *Athens* the Prop of *Greece*, a *Spartan* said, *Greece would soon fall that leaned on such a Prop*. When one seeing the *Athenians* pictured killing the *Spartans* said, *The Athenians are stout Fellows; Yes* (subjoyned a *Spartan*) *in a Picture*. To one that was very attentive to a scandalous Accusation, a *Spartan* said, *Pray Sir, be not prodigal of your Ears against me*. And to one under Correction that cryed out, *I offend against my will*, another said, *Therefore suffer against thy will*. One seeing some journeying in a Chariot said, *God forbid that I should sit there where I cannot rise up to Reverence my Elders*. Some *Chian* Travellers vomiting after Supper in the Consistory, and dunging in the very Seats of the *Ephori*, first they made strict inquiry whether the Offenders were Citizens or no, but finding they were *Chians*, they publicly proclaimed that they gave the *Chians* leave to be filthy and uncivil. When one saw a Merchant sell hard Almonds at double the price that others were usually sold at, said, *Are stones scarce?* Another pulling a Nightingale, and finding but a very small Body, said, *Thou art Voice and nothing else*. Another *Spartan* seeing *Diogenes* the Cynic in very cold weather embrace a brazen Statue, askt him whether he was not very cold, and he replying, *No*; rejoyn'd, *What great matter is it then that you do?* A *Metapontine* being jeer'd by a *Spartan* for their Cowardice replied, *Nay Sir, we are Masters of some of the Territories of other States*; then said the *Spartan*, *You are not only Cowards but Unjust*. A Traveller at *Sparta* standing long upon one Leg, said to a *Lacedemonian*, *I do not believe you can do as much*; *True* (said he) *but every Goose can*. To one valuing himself upon his skill in Oratory, a *Spartan* said, *By Heaven, there never was, and never can be any Art without Truth*. An *Argive* saying,

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We have the Tombs of many Spartans amongst us ; a Spartan replied, *But we cannot shew the Grave of one Argive* ; meaning, that they had often invaded Argos, but the Argives never Sparta. A Spartan that was taken Captive and to be sold, when the Cryer said, Here's a Spartan to be sold, he stopt his Mouth saying, *Cry a Captive*. One of *Lysimachus* his Souldiers being askt by him whether he was a true Spartan, or one of the Slaves (*Heilotēs*) replied, *Do you imagine a Lacedæmonian would serve you for a Groat a Day ?* The Thebans having beaten the Lacedæmonians at *Leuctra*, march't to the River *Eurotas* it self, where one of them boastingly said, Where are the Spartans now ? To whom a Captive replied, *They are not at hand Sir, for if they had been, you had not come so far*. The Athenians having surrendered their own City to the Spartans, requested that they might be permitted to enjoy *Samos* only ; upon which the Spartans said, *When you are not at your own Disposal, would you be Lords of others ?* And hence came that Proverb, *He that is not Master of himself begs Samos*. When the Lacedæmonians had taken a Town by Storm, the Ephori said, *The Exercise of our Youth is lost, for now they will have none to contend with them*. The Persian offering to raze a City that had frequent quarrels and skirmishes with the Spartans, they desired him to forbear, and not take away the Whetstone of their Youth. They appointed no Masters to instruct their Boys in Wrestling, that they might contend not in flights of Art and little Tricks, but in Strength and Courage ; and therefore *Lysander* being askt by what means *Charon* was too hard for him, replied, *By sleights and cunning*. When *Philip* having entered their Territories, sent to know whether he should come an Enemy or a Friend ; the Spartans returned, *Neither*. Hearing that the Ambassador they had sent to *Antigonus* the Son of *Demetrius*, had called him King, they fined him, though he had obtained of him in a time of scarcity a bushel of Wheat for

for every Person in the City. A vicious Person giving excellent good Counsel, they received it ; but concealing him, applied to another, a Man regular and of a good Life. When some Brothers differed, they bind the Father for neglecting his Sons, and suffering them to be at strife. They fined likewise a Musician that came amongst them for playing with his Fingers. Two Boys fighting, one wounded the other mortally with a Hook ; and when his Acquaintance, just as he was dying, vowed to revenge his Death, and have the Blood of him that killed him ; *By no means* (said he) *'tis Unjust, for I had done the same thing if I had been stout, and more speedy in my stroke.* Another Boy at the time when Free-mens Sons are allowed to steal what they can, and 'tis a disgrace to be discovered ; when some of his Companions had stole a young Fox, and delivered it to him, and the Owners came to search, he hid it under his Gown ; and though the angry little Beast bit through his side to his very Guts, he endured it quietly, that he might not be discovered. When the Searchers were gone, and the Boys saw what had happened, they chid him roundly, saying, It had been better to have produced the Fox, then thus concealed him by losing your own Life ; No, no (replied he) *'tis much better to die in Torments, than let my softness betray me, and suffer a Life that had been scandalous.* Some meeting certain Spartans upon the Road, said, Sirs, you have good luck, for the Robbers are just gone ; *Faith* (they replied) *the have good luck that they did not meet with us.* A Lacedæmonian being askt what he knew, answered, *To be Free.* A Spartan Boy being taken by *Antigonus* and sold, obeyed his Master readily in every thing that he thought not below a Free-man to do ; but when he was commanded to bring a Chamber-pot, unable to contain, he said, I will not serve ; but his Master pressing him, he ran to the top of the House, and saying, You shall find what you

you have bought ; threw himself down head-long and died. Another being to be sold, when the Chapman askt him, wilt thou be towardly if I buy thee ? *Yes, (he returned) and if you do not buy me.* Another Captive, when the Cryer said here's a Slave to be sold, cryed out, *You Villain, why not a Captive ?* A Spartan, who had a Fly engraven on his Shield no bigger than Nature hath made that Creature, when some jeer'd him as if he did it on purpose that he might not be taken notice of, replied, *'Tis that I might be known, for I advance so near my Enemies, that they can well perceive my Impress, as little as it is.* Another, when at an Entertainment a Harp was brought in, said, *'Tis not the Custom of the Spartans to play the Fools.* A Spartan being askt whether the way to Sparta was safe or no ? replied, *'Tis according as you go ; for Lions that approach are chas'd away, and Hares we hunt in their very Coverts.* A Spartan wrestling, when he could not make his Adversary that had got the upper-hand of him lose his hold, and unable to avoid the Fall, he bit him by the Arm ; and the other saying, Spartan, *thou bitest like a Woman ;* No (said he) *but like a Lion.* A Lame Man marching out to War, and being laugh'd at said, *There's no need of those that can run away, but of those that can stand to it and defend their Post.* Another being shot thorow, with his last Breath said, *It doth not trouble me that I die, but that I should be killed by a Woman before I had performed some notable Exploit.* One coming into an Inn, and giving the Host a piece of Meat to make ready for him ; when the Host demanded some Cheese and Oil besides, *What (says the Spartan) if I had Cheese, should I want meat ?* When one called Lampis of Ægina happy, because he seemed a rich Man, having many Ships of his own at Sea, a Spartan said, *I do not like that Happiness that hangs by a Cord.* One telling a Spartan that he lyed, the Spartan return'd, *True, for we are free, but others, unless they speak Truth will suffer for it.* When one had undertaken

taken to make a Carcass stand upright, and try'd every way to no purpose ; *Faith* (said he) *there wants something within.* Tynnichus bore his Son Thrasybulus's Death very patiently, and there is this Epigram made upon him :

*Stout Thrasybulus on his shield was brought
From bloody Fields, where he had bravely fought ;
The Argives beat, and as he stoutly prest,
Five spears and death attending pierc'd his breast :
The Father took the Corps, and as he bled,
He laid it on the Funeral Pile and said,
Be Cowarders mourned, I'll spend no Tear nor Groan,
Whilst thus I burn a Spartan and my son.*

The Keeper of the Bath allowing more Water than ordinary to *Alcibiades* the *Athenian*, a *Spartan* said, *What is he more foul, that he wants more than others ?* *Philip* making an Invade upon *Sparta*, and all the *Spartans* expecting to be cut off, he said to one of them, Now what will you *Spartans* do? and he replied, *What, but die bravely ?* For only we of all the *Greeks* have learned to be free, and not endure a *Yolk*. *Agis* was beaten when *Antipater* demanded fifty Boys for Hostages, *Eteocles*, one of the then *Ephori* answered, Boys we will not give, lest sivering from the Customs of their Country, they prove sloathful and untoward, and so incapable of the Privilege of Citizens ; but of Women and Old Men you shall have twice as many. And when upon refusal he threatned some sharp affliction, he returned, If you lay upon us somewhat worse than Death, we shall die the more readily. An Old Man in the Olympic Games being desirous to see the sport, and unprovided of a Seat, went about from place to place, was laught and jeer'd at, but none offered him the civility ; but when he came to the *Spartans* quarter, all the Boys and some of the Men rose from their Seats, and made him room : At this all the *Greeks* clapt and praised their Behaviour ;
upon

upon which the good old Man shaking his hoary Hairs, with Tears in his Eyes, said, *Good God! How well all the Greeks know what is good, and yet the Lacedæmonians only practise it!* And some say the same thing was done at Athens: For at the great Solemnity, the General Assembly of the Athenians, the Attics abused an old Man, calling him as if they designed to make room for him, and when he came, putting him off again; and when after this manner he had past through almost all, he came to that quarter where the Spartan Spectators sat, and all of them presently rose up, and gave him place; the whole multitude extremely taken with this action, clapt and shouted; upon which one of the Spartans said, *By Heaven, these Athenians know what should be done, but are not much for doing it.* A Beggar asking an Alms of a Lacedæmonian, he said, *Well, should I give thee any thing thou wilt be the greater Beggar, for he that gave the Money first made thee Idle, and is the cause of this Base and Dishonourable way of living.* Another Spartan seeing a Fellow gathering Charity for the Gods sake, said, *I'll never regard those Gods that are poorer than my self.* Another having taken an Adulterer with an ugly Whore, cryed out, *Poor Man, how great was thy necessity?* Another hearing an O-rator very lofty, and swelling in his speech, said, *Faith this is a brave Man, how excellently he rolls his Tongue about nothing?* A Stranger being at Sparta, and observing how much the Young Men revered the Old said, *At Sparta alone it is desirable to be Old.* A Lacedæmonian being askt what manner of Poet Tyrtaeus was, replied, *Excellent to wheate the Courage of our Youth.* Another that had very sore Eyes listd himself a Souldier, some said to him, *Poor Man, whither in that condition, and what wilt thou do in a fight?* He returned, *If I can nothing else, I shall blunt the Enemies Sword.* Bouris and Spartis, two Lacedæmonians, going voluntarily to Xerxes the Persian, to suffer that Punishment which the Oracle had adjudged due to Sparta

for killing those Ambassadors the King had sent, as soon as they came, they desired Xerxes to put them to Death how he pleased, that they might make Satisfaction for the Spartans, but he, surprised at this gallantry, forgave the Men, and desired their Service in his Court; to which they replied, *How can we stay here, and leave our Country, our Laws, and those Men for whom we came so far to die?* Indarnes the General pressing them to make Peace, and promising equal Honours with the King's greatest Favourites, they returned, *Sir, you seem to be ignorant of the value of Liberty, which no Man in his Wits would change for the Persian Empire.* A Spartan in a Journey, when a Friend of his had purposely avoided him the day before, and the next day having borrowed very rich Furniture, splendidly received him, he trampled on his Tapestry saying, *This was the cause why I had not so much as a Mat to sleep upon last Night.* Another coming to Athens, and seeing the Athenians crying up and down the Streets, Salt-Fish and Pudding-pies to sell; others gathering Taxes, keeping Stews, and busied about a Thousand such dishonest Trades, and looking on nothing as base and unbecoming; after his return, when his Acquaintance enquired how things were at Athens, he replied, *All well;* intimating by this Irony, that all things there were esteemed good and commendable, and nothing base. Another being questioned about something, denied it, and the Enquirer rejoyning, *Thou liest;* he replied, *And art not thou a Fool to ask me what you know your self very well?* Some Lacedæmonians being sent Ambassadors to the Tyrant Liddamis when pretending sickness, he deferred their Audience a long time: they said to one of his Officers, *Pray Sir assure him, that we did not come to Wrestle, but to Treat with him.* A Priest initiating a Spartan in holy Mysteries, askt him what was the greatest wickedness he was ever guilty of? and he replying, *The Gods know very well;* and the Priest pressing him the more, and saying, He

He must needs discover ; the *Spartan* askt, *To whom ? To thee or to the God ?* and the Priest saying, *To the God ;* he rejoyn'd, *Then do you withdraw.* Another at night passing by a Tomb, and imagining he saw a Ghost, made towards it with his Spear, and striking it thorow, cryed out, *Whither dost thou fly, poor twice dead Ghost ?* Another having vowed to throw himself headlong from the Promontory *Leucus*, when he came to the top and saw the vast Precipice, he went down again, upon which being jeer'd by an Acquaintance, he said, *I did not imagine that one vow needed another greater.* Another in a Battle had his Sword lifted up to kill his Enemy, but the Retreat being sounded, he did not let the blow fall ; and when one asked him, why when his Enemy was at his mercy, he did not use the advantage ; *Because* (said he) *'tis better to obey my Leader, than kill any Enemy.* One saying to a *Spartan* that was worsted in the Olympic Games, *Spartan, thy Adversary was the better Man ;* No, he replied, *but the better Tripper.*

H h 2

Plu.

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. I.

Of HEARING.

*Translated from the Greek by Tho. Hoy,
Fellow of St. John's-Colledge in Oxford.*

The INTRODUCTION.

I Have sent (*Nicander*) the Reflections of some spare Hours concerning *Hearing*, [*as it relates to Morality*] digested into the following short Essay: that being out of the hands of Governours, and come to Man's Estate, you may hearken to the good Advice of a Friend. For that *Libertinism*, which some wild young Fellows, for want of more happy Education, mistake for *Liberty*, subjects them to harder Tyrants than their late Tutors and Masters; even to their own Vicious Inclinations, which, as it were, break loose upon them. And as *Herodotus* observes of Women, That they put off Modesty with their Night-gown; so some young Men, with the Badges of Minority laying aside all the sense of Shame or Fear, instead of what late well upon them, are covered with insolence. But you, who have often heard that *to follow God*, and, *to obey Reason*, are all one; cannot but believe, that Men of Best Sense passing from Minority to Manhood, alter not the Government, though they change their Governour. In the room of some Mercenary Pedant, they entertain that Divine Guide and Governour of Human Life, *Reason*; under whose Subjection

tion alone Men are properly said to live in Freedom For they only live at their own Will, who have learned to will as they ought ; and that freedom of Will which appears in unconstrained Appetites, and unreasonable Actions, is mean, and narrow, and accompanied with much Repentance. For as Aliens newly naturalized are apt to disrelish many Administrations of the Government ; while Natural Subjects, bred up under, and acquainted with, the Constitution, act without Difficulty in their several Stations, well satisfied with their Condition : In like manner a Man must be bred up, and proceed gradually in his Lessons and Instructions from a Child, that he may be satisfied with, or *naturalized* into Philosophy. And that alone is truly accomplishing his Minority, and the proper Mark and Distinction of a Man. Therefore, I believe, some Directions concerning *Hearing* will not be ill received by you.

Remarques about Hearing in General.

OF this, *Theophrastus* affirms, That it has an Influence on the Affections beyond the rest of the Senses. For the several objects of Sight, Tasting and Feeling, excite not in us so great Disturbances and Alterations, as the sudden and frightful Noises which assault us only as the Ears. Yet, in reality this Sense belongs more properly to the Rational Soul, than the Affections : For there are many Organs, and other Parts of the Body, which serve as Avenues and Inlets to the Soul, to give admission to Vice ; but the only Passage of Vertue into young Minds is by the Ears, provided they be preserved all along free from the Corruptions of Flattery, and untainted with lewd Discourses. For this Reason *Xenocrates* was of opinion, That Children rather ought to have a Defence fitted to their Ears, than Fencers, or Prize-players ; because the Ears only of the later suffered by the

Blows, but the *Morals* of the former were hurt and maimed by Words. Not that he thereby recommended Deafness, or forbid that they should be suffered to hear at all; but advising only that Debauchery might be kept out, till better Principles (like so many Guardians appointed by Philosophy) had taken charge of that Part, which is so liable to be drawn aside and corrupted by Discourse. And *Bias* of old being ordered by *Amasis* to send him the Best, and withal the Worst part of the Sacrifice, sent the Tongue; because the greatest Benefits and Disadvantages are derived to us thereby. Thus again, many diverting themselves with Children, tickle their Ears, bidding them return the like again; by which they seem to intimate to them, That such best deserve their Love and Esteem, whose Obligations enter at the Ears. This is evident, He that has lain Fallow all his days, without tasting any Instructions, will not only prove Barren and Unfruitful of Vertue, but very inclinable to Vice; for an Uncultivated Mind, like Unmanured Ground, will soon be over-run with Weeds. For that violent Propension of the Mind to Pleasure, and that Jealousie of all that carries any shew of Pain (which proceed not from External Causes, or Received Prejudices, but are the Ingenit Springs of Evil Affections, and infinite Diseases of the Mind) if suffered to take their Course, and not restrained, or diverted some other way by wholsom Instructions, there can be no Beast so Salvage, which may not be called Tame and Civilized, in respect of such a Man.

More General Rules about Hearing.

Since then it appears, that *Hearing* is of so great Use, and no less Danger to Young Men, I think it a very commendable thing for such an one to reflect continually with himself, and consult often with others, how he may *hear* with Benefit. And in this Particular we may observe many to have been mistaken, That they practise

to *ſpeak*, before they have been uſed enough to *hear*. *Speaking* they think will require ſome Study and Attention, but *Hearing* cannot be a thing of any Difficulty. Thoſe indeed who uſe the Game of *Tennis*, learn how to ſerve, and how to take any Ball ; but in the Exerciſe of the Tongue, we ought to practice how to talk well, before we pretend to return ; as Conception, and Retention of the *Fætus*, precede Child-birth. When Fowls lay * Wind-eggs we uſually refer * ὀρνυ- ſuch effects to weak or Imperfect Coition ; μὲν λο- and when Young Men either hear not at all, χας. or retain not what they hear, their Diſcourſe comes from them altogether as uſeleſs, and full of Wind.

And vain and unregarded turns to Air.

In filling any Veſſel they take care to ſtop it, ſo that nothing be ſpilt ; but think it not worth the heeding to regulate their Attention, and apply themſelves with Advantage to a Speaker, that nothing of Importance may fall beſide, or eſcape them. Yet what is beyond comparison ridiculous, if they happen upon any one who has a knack at deſcribing an Entertainment, or a Shew ; or can relate his Dream well ; or give an handſom Account of a Quarrel between himſelf and another : ſuch an one they hear with the greateſt Attention, they Court him to proceed, and importune him for every Circumſtance. Whereas, let another call them about him for any thing uſeful, to exhort to what is Decent ; or reprehend what is Irregular ; or to make up a Quarrel : They have not Temper enough to away with it, but run to *Sophiſtry*, if they hope to put him ; or if not, haſt away to more agreeable Fopperies : As if their Ears, like faulty Earthen Veſſels, might be filled with any thing but what is uſeful or valuable. But as Jockies take great care in breeding Horſes to bring them to rein right, and endure the Bit ;

so such as have the Care of Educating Children should breed them to endure *Hearing*, by allowing them to *speak* little and *hear* much. And *Spintharus* speaking in commendation of *Epaminondas*, says, He scarce ever met with any Man who knew more and spoke less. Some again make the Observation, that Nature has given every Man two Ears, and but one Tongue, as a secret intimation that he ought to speak less than he hears.

Directions concerning Attention.

WELL then, Silence is at all times a singular Ornament of Youth ; but especially if he interrupt not the Speaker, nor carp and except at every thing he says, but patiently expects the conclusion, though his discourse be none of the best. And when he has done, if he do not presently come over him with an Objection, but (as *Æschines* directs) allows time to add, if he please, to what has been said ; or to alter, or to retract. Whereas such as *repatee* too briskly, and return too suddenly upon a Speaker, neither hear nor are heard themselves ; but senselessly chatter to one another, and sin against the Laws and Rules of *Decorum*. But he that brings along with him a modest and unwearied Attention has this advantage, that whatever is Beneficial in the Discourse he makes his own, and more readily discovers what is False, or Impertinent ; appearing all the while a Friend to Truth, rather than Squabbling or Rashness. Therefore it was not ill said, that such as design to infuse any Goodness into the Minds of Youth, must first exclude thence Pride and Self-conceit, as we squeeze Air out of Bladders ; because while they are puffed up with arrogance,

Of Envy
and Pre-
judice in
Hearing.

there is no room to admit any thing else. Thus again Envy and Detraction, and Prejudice are in no case good, but always a great Impediment to what is so ; yet no where worse, then when they are made the Bosom-Friends.

Friends and Counsellors of an *Hearer* ; because they represent the best Things to him as Unpleasant and Impertinent ; and Men in such Circumstances are pleased with nothing less, than what best deserves their Applause. Yet he that grieves at the Wealth, Glory or Beauty of any, is but simply Envious, for he repines only at the Good of Others ; but he that is ill-natured to a good Speaker, is an Enemy to his own Happiness : For Discourse to an *Hearer* like Light to the Eye, is a great Benefit, if he will make the best use of it. Envy in all other Instances carries this pretence with it, that it is to be referred to the Depraved and Ungovernable Affections of the Mind, but that which is conceived against a Speaker arises from an Unjust Presumption, and Vain-glorious Affectation of Praise.

In such a Case the Man has not leisure to attend to what he hears ; his Soul is in continual Hurry and Disturbance, one while examining her own Habits and Endowments, if any way inferior to the Speaker ; anon watching the Behaviour and Inclination of others, if inclined to praise or admire his Discourse ; disordered at the Praise, and enraged at the Company if he meet with any encouragement. She easily lets slip, and willingly forgets what was said, because the remembrance is a pain and vexation to her ; she hears what is to come with a great deal of Uneasiness and Concern, and fears it should outdo what went before ; and then wishes he would draw to a conclusion when she is sensible he speaks the Best Things. After all is over, she considers not what was said, but has respect only to the common Vogue and Disposition of the Audience ; she avoids and flies like one distracted, such as seems to be pleased, and herds among the Censorious and Perverse. If she vitiate or pervert no part of it her self, she gets among the younger Fry, who please themselves that they could speak better,

An *Hypocrit*
of
an Envi-
ous *Hear-*
er.

better, and with greater force of Argument on the same Occasion. Thus by abusing and corrupting what was said, she defeats the Use and Effect of it on her self. He therefore who comes to hear, must, for the time, come to a kind of Truce and Accommodation with Vain glory, and preserve the same Evenness, and Cheerfulness of

* *Θυσίας ἀπαρχὰν ἀπαρχαὶ* were the first Fruits which were dedicated to the Gods. A custom well known to have been practised among the Ancients;

Humour he would bring with him to a Festival Entertainment, or the * *First-Fruits Sacrifice*, applauding and encouraging what is spoken close to the purpose, and where he fails, receiving kindly his readiness to communicate what wrought upon himself. Where he comes off with success, must not impute it to chance, or all-adventure, but attribute all to Study and Diligence, and Art; not only admiring, but studiously emulating the like; where he has done amiss, must pry curiously into the Causes and Original of the

Mistake. For what *Xenophon* says of discreet House-keepers, That they make an advantage of the Visits of their Enemies, as well as Friends; is in some sort true of careful and attentive Hearers, who reap no less Benefit from an Ill, than a Good Orator. For

How to advantage ones self by an Ill Oration.

the Meanness and Poverty of a Thought, the emptiness and flatness of an Expression, the Unseasonableness of a Figure, and the Impertinence of falling into a foolish Ex-

travagance of Joy, or Commendation, and the like, are better discovered by a stander by, than the Speaker himself. Therefore his Oversight, or Indiscretion must be brought home to our selves, that we may examin if nothing of the same kind has sculked there, and imposed on us all the while. For there is nothing in the world more easie, than to discover the faults of others, but it is done to no effect, if we make not this use of it, to be serviceable to

us in correcting, and avoiding the like Failures in our selves. When therefore you animadvert upon other Mens Miscarriages, forget not to put that Question of *Plato* to your self, *Am not I such another?* We must trace out our own way of writing in the Discourses of other Men, as in anothers Eyes, we see the reflection of our own; that we may learn not to be too free in censuring others, and use more Circumspection our selves. To this Design the following Method of conferring things may be very instrumental. If upon our return from hearing, we take what seemed to us not well, or sufficiently handled, and attempt it afresh our selves; endeavouring to fill out one part, or correct another; to vary this, or model that into a new form from the very Question. And thus *Plato* examined the Oration of *Lysias*. For it is a thing of no great Difficulty to raise objections against another Mans Oration, nay it is a very easie matter; but to produce a Better in the place, is a Work extreamly Troublesom: As the *Spartan* who was told *Philip* had demolished the City *Olynthus*, made this Reply, *But he cannot raise such another.* When then it appears, upon handling the same *Thesis*, that our Performances do not much excel those who undertook it before, this will abate much of our Censorious Humour, and that Pride and Self conceit that pushes us on such Controversies will be taken off.

Caution about Admiration.

TO Contempt is opposed Admiration, which indeed argues a more Candid and better Disposition; but even in this case no small, nay much greater care is to be observed: Because, tho such as are Contemptuous, and Self-conceited, receive but little Good from what they hear; yet the Good-natur'd, and such as are given to admire every Thing, take a great deal of Harm: And *Heraclitus* was not mistaken when he said, *That a Fool was*
shaken

shaken and startled at every thing he heard. We ought indeed to use all the Candor imaginable in praising the Speaker ; yet withal, as great Caution in yielding our Assent to what he says: to look upon his Expression and Action with a favourable Construction, but to inspect the Usefulness and Truth of his Doctrine with the nicest and most critical Judgment : That Hearers may cease to be Malicious, and Speakers may do no Mischief. For many False and Dangerous Principles steal upon us through the Authority of the Speaker, and our own Credulity. The *Spartans Ephori* approving the Judgment of one of an Ill Conversation, ordered it to be communicated to the People by a Person of better Life and Reputation : thereby wisely and politicly using them to give more deference to the *Morals*, than the Words of such as pretended to advise them: But now in Philosophy the Esteem of the Speaker must be pulled off, and Things examined Naked, and without a Masque. For in Hearing, as in War, there are many False Alarms. The Gravity of the Speaker, or his Way of Delivery ; his Magisterial Look, or his Assuming Pride ; but chiefly the Noise and Clapping of the Auditory, bear great sway with a raw and unexperienced *Hearer*, who is easily carried away with the Tide. The very Expression, if Sweet and Full, and representing Things with some Pomp and Greatness, has a secret Power to impose upon us. For, as many Lapses, in such as sing to an Instrument, escape the Hearers ; so Luxuriancy and Pomp of Style put a Cheat upon the Ear, and disguise the Weakness and Invalidity of an Argument. And *Melanthius* (as 'tis said) being asked his Opinion concerning a Tragedy of *Diogenes*, made answer, *That the Words intercepted his Sight of it.* But many Sophisters, in their Declamations and Speeches, make not use of Words only to veil and muffle their Design ; but with Affected Tone, and Softness of Voice, draw aside and bewitch their Followers ; for that Empty Pleasure they create,

reaping

reaping a more Empty Glory. For the Saying of *Dionysius* is very applicable to them ; who being one day extremely pleased with an Harper that played excellently well before him, promised the Fellow a great reward ; yet afterwards would give him nothing, pretending he has kept his Word ; For (said he) *as long as you pleased me with hearing you play, so long were you pleased in Hopes of the Reward.* And such also is the Reward those kind of *Harangues* bring to the Authors: The Hearers admire as long as they are pleased and tickled ; but the Satisfaction on one hand, and Glory on the other, conclude with the Oration: and these lose their time idly, and the others their whole Life.

How to separate the Useful Part of a Discourse.

NO, we must separate the Trash and Trumpery of an Oration, that we may come at the more Fruitful and Useful Part; not imitating those Women who busie themselves in gathering Nosesays and making Garlands, but the more useful Industry of Bees. They indeed pluck and weave together the sweetest and gayest Flowers, and their Skill is mighty pretty ; but it lasts for one day only, and even then is of little or no Use: Whereas the Bees passing by the Beds of Violets, and Roses, and Hyacinths, fix on the prickly and biting *Thyme*, and returning home laden, labour it into Honey. In like manner, a well-meaning sincere *Hearer* ought to pass by the Flowers of an Oration, leaving the gawdy Shew and *Theatrical* part to entertain *Dronish Sophisters* ; and dividing into the very Mind of the Speaker, must separate what is necessary for his own Service ; remembring withal, that he is not come to the *Theatre* or *Music-meeting* but is present at the Schools and Auditors of Philosophy, to learn to rectifie his way of Life by what he hears.

hears. In order thereunto, he ought to inspect diligently, and try faithfully, the State and Temper of his Mind after Hearing, if any of his Affections are more moderate, if any Afflictions grown lighter, if his Constancy and Greatness of Spirit be confirmed, if he feels any Divine Emotions, or Inward Workings of Vertue and Goodness upon his Soul. For it becomes us but ill, when we rise from the Barbers Chair, to be so long in consulting the Glass, or so curious in examining and adjusting our *Peruque* ; if at our return from the Schools from *Hearing*, we think it needless to look into our selves, or examin our own Mind, whether she have discharged any turbulent or unprofitable Affections, and be grown more sedate and serene. For, as *Ariston* was wont to say, *The BAGNIO and a DISCOURSE are of no use unless they are Purgative.*

Let then a Young Man be pleased and entertain'd with a Discourse ; but let him not make his Pleasure the only End of *Hearing*, nor think he may come from the School of a Philosopher Singing and Sportive : or call for Perfumes and Essences, when he has need of a Punctness and Fomentations. But let him learn to be thankful to him that purges away the Darkeness and Stupidity of his Mind, tho (as we clear Bee-hives by smooking) with an Offensive or Unpalatable Discourse. For tho it lies upon a *Speaker* to take some care that his Expression be pleasing and plausible ; yet an *Hearer* ought not to make that the first thing he looks after. Indeed, when he has satisfied his Appetite with Things, he may be allowed the Curiosity of examining the Style and Expression, whether any thing Delicate or Extraordinary : As Men quench their Thirst, before they have time to admire the Imbossing of the Bowl. But now such an one as is not intent on the *Subject Matter*, but regards only the Language and *Attis* Elegancy, is much of his foolish

lish Humour, who refuses an Antidote, unless out of * *Athenia Porcellan* ; or that will not put on a Coat in the Winter, because the Cloth is not made of *Attic Wool*, yet can endure a thread-bare Oration of *Lysias*, tho without any Advantage to himself. That extream Dearth of Judgment and good Sense, and that abund of Subtilty and Sophistry, which is crept into the Schools, is all owing to these Corruptions of the Youngsters; who observing neither the Lives, nor Public Conversation of Philosophers, mind nothing but Words and Gingle ; and express themselves extravagantly upon what they think well said, without ever understanding or inquiring if it be Useful and Necessary, or Needleess and Vain.

* *Εκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς πορσελλῆς*
Colias a Promontory of *Attica*, where was made a fine sort of Earthen ware, much valued by the Ancients. Mentioned also by *Athenæus*. l. 11.

Of asking Questions.

AFTER this, it will be convenient to lay down some Directions touching asking of Questions. For, 'tis true, he that comes to a great Collation must eat what is set before him, not rudely calling for what is not to be had, nor finding fault with Provision. But he that is invited to partake of a Discourse, if it be with that *Proviso*, must hear with Silence : (For such unagreeable Hearers as occasion Digressions by asking Impertinent Questions, and starting foolish Doubts, are an Hindrance both to the Speaker and the Discourse, without benefiting themselves.) But when the Speaker encourages them to propose their Objections, must take care, that his Question be of some Consequence. The Suitors in *Homer* scorned and derided *Ulysses*.

Who begged for Bread, and asked not for a Sword;

Because

Because they thought it required a Great and Heroic Soul no less to ask, than to bestow greatly : But there is much better reason to slight and laugh at such an *Hearer* as can please himself in asking little trifling Questions. Thus some Young Fellows, to proclaim their smattering in *Logic* and *Mathematics*, upon all Occasions inquire about the *Infinite Divisibility of Quantity* ; or the *Difference of moving through the Diagonal and upon the Sides*. But we may answer them with *Philotimus* heretofore, who being asked by a Consumptive Phthisical Person for a Remedy against a Whitlow ; *Sir*, said he, *you have no reason to be apprehensive of That*. So we must tell them, *You have no reason, Young Gentlemen, to trouble your selves about these Questions ; but how to shake off your Opiniatry and Arrogancy, to have done with your Intrigues and Fopperies, and to settle immediately upon a well-governed Course of Life*. Great regard is to be had also to the *Genius* and *Talent* of a Speaker, to inquire about such things as are in his way, not to take him out of his Knowledge : As if one should propose *Physical* or *Mathematical* Queries to a *Moral Philosophy* Reader ; or apply himself to a *Virtuoso* about *Hypothetical Propositions*, or the *Solution of Fallacie*, in *Logic*. For, as he that goes about to cleave Wood with a Key, or to unlock a Door with an Ax, does not so much misemploy those Instruments, as deprive himself of the proper Use of them ; so such as are not content with what a Speaker offers them, but call for such things as he is a Stranger to, are not only Disappointed, but incur the suspicion of Malice and Ill-nature. Be cautious also how you ask many things, or often ; for that betrays somewhat of Conceit and Ostentation : but to expect civilly while another proposes his Scruples, argues a sociable Temper, and willingness that others should be informed ; unless some sudden Perturbation of Mind require to be repressed, or some Distemper to be asswaged. For (as *Heracitus* says) *'tis an ill thing to conceal a Man's Ignorance* ;

it must be laid open, that the Remedy may be applied. So also if Anger, or Superstition, or a Quarrel with your Domesticks, or the Violent Passion of Love, excite any Commotion in your Mind,

Whose secret Force the very Heart-strings breaks !

You are not presently, for fear of being galled, or hearing your own, to fly to such as are treating of other Arguments ; but must frequent those Places where your particular Case is stating, and after Lecture address your self privately to them for better Information, and fuller Satisfaction therein. On the contrary, Men commonly flatter themselves, and admire the Philosopher so long as he discourses of Indifferent Things ; but if he come home to themselves, and deal freely with them about their real Interest, this they think is beyond all enduring, or, at best, look upon it as a needless piece of *Superarogation*. As if Philosophers were to be applauded in the Schools, like Actors on the Stage, for their Diversion only ; but in other matters were no better Men than themselves ; and to confess the truth, they have but reason to think so of many *Sophisters*, who having once left the Desk, and laid aside their Books, in the serious concerns of human Life are even Inferior to, and more Ignorant than the Vulgar. But now the Austerity, or Railery of real Philosophers, their very Nod, or Look if formed to be pleasant or reserved, but chiefly their Admonitions directed to particular Persons, are of weighty Importance to such as can brook, or attend to them.

Directions concerning Praising.

For Commendation, some caution and mean is to be observed in it ; because to be Deficient, or Excessive in that particular, is alike not to be Liberal. He is

but a morose and rigid *Hearer*, whom no part of an Oration can work upon, or oblige; out of a secret Pride, and pre-conceived Vanity that he could do better things himself. One that dares not alter his countenance as occasion requires, or let fall the least Word to testify his Good Wishes; but with Silence and Affected Gravity hunts after the reputation of a Sagacious and Profound Person; and thinks that praise, as well as Money, lost to himself which he bestows on others. For many wrest that Sentence of *Pythagoras*, who used to say, *He had learned by Philosophy to admire nothing*; but these Men think to *admire Nothing*, and to value Nothing, is to slight every thing; and take the measures of their own Gravity from their Contempt of others. Philosophy indeed removes that foolish Admiration and Surprize, which proceeds from Doubt, or Ignorance, by laying open to us the Causes of things; but endeavours not to destroy all Good Nature and Humanity. And those who are truly Good, take it for their greatest Honour and Commendation to be just in paying honour and commendation where it is due to others; which seems to discover that mighty Stock and Abundance of Glory in themselves while the Niggardly only betray Extream necessity of Praise at home. Yet to use no Consideration at all, but stand up and make a clamour at every Word or Syllable, is to offend in the other Extream. Such fluttering Fellows for the most part oblige not the Speakers themselves; but are always a Plague and common Grievance to the Hearers, exciting them many times against their Inclination, and with violence to their Modesty forcing them to joyn in the Tumult. In the end, he that raised the Disturbance receives no benefit by the Discourse, but goes away with the Character of a Scoffer, or Flatterer, or Novice. A Judge, 'tis true ought to hear and determine without Favour or Affection, regarding

ding only what is Just and Equitable ; but in *Philosophical Proceedings* the case is altered, where neither Law, nor Oaths tie us up from being favourable to the Speaker. And the Ancients in their Temples were wont to place the Statue of *Mercury* among the *Graces*, intimating that Orators ought to find a Propitious and Good-natured Audience. For they thought it past all belief, that any Man could prove so much a Block-head, or come so wide of the purpose ; but, if he made no Remarks of his own, and quoted none of others worthy taking notice of ; or tho the Argument and Design of his Discourse might not be commendable ! Yet at least the Order and Disposition, or some few expressions might deserve applause.

*As oft amidst the Furze and Thorny Brakes,
The tender Violets more securely peep.*

For if some have undertaken successfully to speak in Commendation of *Vomiting*, or a *Fever*, and even to make an *Encomiastic* on a * *Porridge-pot*, not without some Acceptance ; certainly a Discourse from one that has the least pretence to Philosophy cannot but obtain a Breathing while, and Opportunity of Commendation from a well-disposed Auditory. *Plato* says, That all men have something in them that recommends them to others ; the Fair are the Favourites of Heaven ; the Black, Manly ; the Hook-nosed have a look of Majesty ; the Flat-nose gives a Graceful Air ; even the Swarthy Complexion is complemented that it looks like * *Honey*. Thus Love, like Ivy, will find some or other to lay hold on. But an *Hearer* has far greater reason to pick out what may deserve his Approbation : For *Plato* in an Oration of *Lysias*, disliking the Invention,

* An admirable subject for the Sublime Style.

* Country Complements

and utterly condemning the Disposition as confused; yet praised his Style and Elocution, because every Word was wrought off cleverly, and *cleanly turned*. Thus a Man may see cause enough to disapprove the Argument of *Archilochus*, the Verse of *Parmenides*, the Poverty of *Phocylides*, the eternal Talk of *Euripides*, and Inequality of Stile in *Sophocles*; and among the Orators, One observes not the *Manners*, Another is not *Moving*, a third has nothing of Ornament; yet every one has his peculiar Power to force from us Expressions of Praise and Approbation. Some again require not of us, to testify our Acceptance by the *Voice*; a pleasing Eye, or cheerful Look, or a Behaviour without any thing of Pain or Uneasiness is all that they desire. And these are Favours now a days bestowed of course upon every Oration, though the Speaker may deserve nothing less. Of equal significance with these, are sitting modestly without lolling from one side to the other; looking earnestly on the Speaker; and a Countenance composed to Seriousness and Attention, not only betraying nothing of Contempt, or Ill-will, but not even a mind otherwise Employ'd. For as the *Beauty* and Excellence of every thing consists in the concurrence of many different Accidents, which contribute to the *Symmetry* and *Harmony* of the whole; so that if but one Inconsiderable Part be away, or absurdly added, *Deformity* immediately follows. In like manner, not only a supercilious Look, or forbidding *Meen*, or roving Eyes, or waving the Body to and fro, or drumming with the Heels; but even a Nod, or Whisper to another, a scornful Smile, or negligent Yawning, or the like; are all likewise great *Indecorums* and to be avoided with particular care. Yet some there are who can assign a Speaker his part, and think no Duty incumbent on themselves all the while; who will have him prepared, and premeditate what he has to deliver, yet throw themselves into an *Auditory* without any Preparation, or Consideration as if

they

they were invited to a Public Feast, to revel and take their pleasures at anothers Cost. Yet it is known, that even a Guest has some things required of him to make him suitable and agreeable; and certainly an *Hearer* much more; because he ought to be assistant to, as well as partake with the *Speaker*; neither will it become him to be severe at all turns upon every slight Miscarriage, or perpetually putting his Elocution and Action to the Test; while he himself is guilty of grosser Enormities in *Hearing*, without Danger, or Controul. But as at *Tennis* he that takes the Ball turns and winds his Body according to the motion of the *Server*; so a kind of Proportion is to be observed between the *Speaker* and *Hearer*, if both will discharge their several Duties.

Care to be observed in Praising Persons of all Qualities.

Neither ought we to use any Expressions of Praise indifferently. For it is an ill thing which *Epicurus* relates, that upon reading any Epistles from his Friends, those about him broke out into tumultuous Applauses; and such as daily introduce new Forms into our Auditories, as *Divinely said! Beyond all Mankind!* (as if those used by *Plato*, *Socrates* and *Hyperides*, *well! wisely! truly said!* were not sufficiently expressive) exceed the bounds of Decency and Modesty; nay indeed, do but affront the *Speaker*, as though he were fond of such Extravagant Praises: Nor are they less odious and troublesome, who confirm Approbation with impertinent *Oaths*, as if they were giving their Testimony for a *Speaker* in a Court of Judicature. And so likewise such as observe not to give just Deference to the Quality of Persons; who to a *Philosopher* are apt to cry out, *Smartly said!* or to a *Reverend Gentleman*, *Wittily! Floridly!* applying to *Philosophy* those trifles as are proper to *Scholastic Exercises* and *Declamations*; and using too great Free-

dom and Lightness towards a Judicious Discourse : As if a Man should complement the Conqueror in the *Olympic* Games with a Garland of Lillies, or Roses, instead of Laurel, or Wild-Olive. *Euripides* the Poet one day at a Rehearsal, instructing the *Chorus* in a part that was set to a serious *Air*, one of the Company unexpectedly fell out a laughing ; Sir (said he) *unless you were very stupid and*

insensible, you could not laugh while I sing in the Grave * *Mixolydian Mood!* In like

* *ἐμὲ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι δ' ἄδοντα*.

According to *Kircher*, the *Scenical* Music of the Ancients, was the same with the *Recitativo* of the Modern *Italians*. *Musurg.* 7. *cb.* 5. § 2.

manner a Master of Philosophy and Politics may put a stop to the unseasonable Levity and Pertness of a Youngster, by telling him, *You seem to be a Mad-man, or unacquainted with all manner of Civility, otherwise you would not burn over your Tunes, or practice your new Steps while I am discoursing of God, or the Laws, or the Supreme Magistrate.* For consider seriously, and it is a very scandalous thing, that while a Philosopher is in his Discourse, the Passengers in the street, from the Clamour and Hooting of the *Hearers*, should have reason to make it a question, whether some Piper, or Harper, or *Maurice-dancer* were got in among them.

Of bearing Admonitions and Reproofs.

Admonitions and *Reprimands* ought to be taken neither altogether insensibly, nor yet sleepishly and unmanlike. For such as carry off a Disgrace from a Philosopher carelessly, and without due Concern, so as to grin at his Reprehensions, or scoffingly to praise him for them (as sharpening *Parasites* applaud the scurrilous Reflections of their *Cullies*) such, I say, are shameless and insolent, and betray only their invincible Impudence, but shew nothing of a manly Confidence, or good Assurance.

Yet

Yet bear out handsomly without Passion an Innocent Jest in Railery, is not unbecoming the Breeding of a Gentleman, but a good Accomplishment, and altogether like a *Spartan*. But when an Exhortation to amendment of Manners like a bitter Potion, is made up of harsh and unpleasant words ; in such a case, not to hear submissively, not to be all in a sweat, not to be dizzy, or a-fire with Shame and Confusion ; but never to change Colour, or to sneer, or to dissemble his Concernment, is the certain sign of a Dissolute and Ill-bred Man, one whose Soul, like callous Flesh, being hardned with a Course of Debauchery, will receive no Scar or Impression. Some Young Men indeed there are of a contrary Disposition, who having undergone one Rebuke, fly off without ever looking back, turn *Renegadoes*, and quite desert Philosophy. These being naturally very Modest, have a good Disposition toward an *Healthful Habit* of Mind, but vitiate it by too much Tenderness and Effeminacy, which disables them to bear a Reproof, or manfully submit to a Correction, and run after more pleasing Harangues, wherewith some Flatterers and Sophisters smooth and bewitch them, without any Benefit or Advantage. For as he that flies from the Chirurgeon after Incision, and will not suffer the *Ligature* to be applied, endures that part of his Skill only which is painful, rejecting what would give him ease : So such an one as being lanced and scarified by a sharp Oration, has not patience till the Wound be skinned over, goes away from Philosophy tortured and harrassed, without that Benefit he might receive thereby. For not only *Tellephus's* Wound was cured by rusty Filings of the Spear (as *Euripides* has it) but whatever Pain Philosophy may occasion to a meek disposition, will be cured and removed by the same Discourse that gave the Wound. He therefore that is reprehended, must endure a while, and away with some Pain, not presently be discouraged or out of heart. Let him

*'Εν τελεσῇ καὶ ἡγε-
μένης αὐτοῦ φιλοσο-
φίας. Hesych. renders
τελεσῇ, μυστήρια.

† The manner of
them described, A-
lexander ab Alex. ch.
25. book 5.

behave himself as though he were
to be * *initiated into the Mysteries of
Philosophy*, still hoping, after the
Lustrations and more troublesom Ce-
remonies are undergone, he shall
enjoy some considerable Effect of
his present Troubles and Inconve-
niences. Or suppose he be wrong-
fully chidden, it is but handsom to

expect the Conclusion; after that he may make his A-
pology, and desire that such Freedom and Violence may
be reserved to repress some other Misdemeanour which
really deserves it.

The Difficulties in Philosophy vincible.

BUT besides this, as in *Grammar, Music* and the
Exercises of Activity, there are many things which
to young Beginners appear troublesome, laborious and
obscure; which yet a fuller Knowledge, like Acquain-
tance among Men, makes more agreeable, ready and
feasible. In like manner, though Philosophy in its
first *Terms* and *Notions* may seem uncouth and strange,
yet a Man must not be so far discouraged at the
first *Elements*, as to throw it up for altogether, but bid at
all, and ply his business hard, and patiently expect that
Acquaintance which will make all easie and pleasant; and
that will not be long before it comes, bringing great Light
into Things, and exciting ardent Affections to Vertue;
without which to endure to live after one has, through
his own Effeminacy, fallen from Philosophy, is an Ar-
gument of a mean Spirit and servile Disposition. I must
confess there is so much Difficulty in the Things them-
selves, as is not easily conquered by raw and unexpe-
rienced Beginners; yet the greatest part of the Difficulty
they

they bring upon themselves by their own Ignorance and Inadvertency, falling into the same Error from two contrary Causes. For some out of a foolish Bashfulness and Desire to be easie to the Speaker, are loth to be inquisitive or have the thing made plain to them, that so they may resign up their Assent, and settle in their Opinion in that particular: and others out of Unseasonable Vain-glory, and Vying with their Fellows, that they may vaunt their Readiness of Wit, and Quickness of Apprehension, pretending to understand things before they do, never understand them at all. Now the Consequence in both Cases is this; the Modest go away in a great deal of Anxiety and Doubt, and are forc'd in the end with greater Disgrace, to interrupt the Speaker to be inform'd again: And the Vain-glorious are troubled to keep close and conceal the Ignorance they carry about them. Therefore all such Sheepishness and Self-conceit set aside, let us learn to lay up in our Minds whatever is usefully said, enduring to be laugh'd at by such as set up for Wits and *Railleurs*. This course took *Cleanthes* and *Xenocrates*, who being somewhat slower than their Fellows, did not however give over *Hearing* or Dispond; but prevented the Jest of others, by comparing themselves to narrow-mouth'd Vessels and Copper Plates; because, though they received Learning with some Difficulty, yet they retained it surely. For he that will be a *Good Man*, must not only (as *Pholides* says)

Bashfulness
and Self conceit
and great
hinderances.

Expect much Fraud, and many a time be caught.

but be laughed at, and disgraced, and endure many scurrilous and virulent Reflections, and Encounter with much Ignorance.

So also Laziness,
and over Inquisitiveness.

Neither on the other hand must the Faults be pass'd by, which some troublesome People commit out of meer Laziness

Laziness and Negligence ; such as will not bestow any pains in considering themselves, but asking often the same Questions, are a perpetual vexation to the Speaker ; like Callow Birds, always gaping at the Bill of the *Old-one*, and still reaching after what was prepared and designed for others. Another sort there are, who affecting the Reputation of Quickness and Attention, confound the Speaker with their pragmatistical Curiosity and *Jargon*, always halting in something Unnecessary, and requiring Demonstrations of things foreign to the Business in hand.

Thus a short way is long and tedious made.

(as *Sophocles* says) and that not only to themselves, but others also. For by taking off the Speaker with vain and unnecessary Questions, they retard the Progress of Instruction, like some Travellers in the Road, by impertinent Halts and Stops. *Hieronimus* compares these Men to lazy and *half-strain* Curs, which within doors bite and tear the Skins, but in the Field dare not fasten upon the Beasts themselves.

A Concluding Exhortation.

YET one Exhortation let me leave with these People, That having received the General Heads of Things, they would supply the rest by their own Industry, making their *Memory* a Guide, to their *Invention* ; and looking on the Discourse of others only as a kind of *First Principle* or *Seed*, take care to cherish and encrease it. For the Mind requires, not like an Earthen Vessel, to be fill'd up : convenient Fuel and Aliment only will enflame it with a desire of Knowledge, and ardent Love of *Truth*. Now as he that comes to borrow Fire, if he stays too long a warming himself with his Neighbour, oftentimes disappoints

disappoints his own Business ; so the Man that comes to be instructed by another, if he think not himself obliged to *set fire* (if I may so say) to his own Invention, and exert his own Faculties, he may get the Name of a Philosopher, as we get a Colour by sitting by the Fire, but shall never dispel the Darknes of his Understanding by the Light of Philosophy. In fine, if there be any other Precept concerning *Hearing*, it is briefly this, To be careful in observing the last Exhortation ; that is, To joyn the exercise of our own Invention to our Hearing : that so while we lay down, That *Hearing well* is the first Step to *well Living*, we may not content our selves with a superficial *Common-place* Knowledge, but endeavour after such an Habit as is deeply imprinted on the Mind, and Philosophical.

Plu-

Plutarch's Morals :

Vol. I.

Of large Acquaintance : Or, an Essay
to prove the Folly of seeking many
Friends.*Translated from the Greek by W. G.*

MEnon the Thessalian, a Person who had no mean Opinion of his own Parts, thought himself well accomplish'd in all the Arts of Discourse, and to have reached (as Empedocles words it) the highest pitch of Wisdom, was ask'd by Socrates, *What is Vertue?* And having answered pertly enough, and as impertinently, *That there is one Vertue belonging to Childhood, another to Old Age ; That there are distinct Vertues in Men and Women, Magistrates and private Persons, Masters and Servants: Excellently well !* (replied Socrates in Raillery) upon Inquiry made of one, you have rais'd, as it were, a whole Swarm of Vertues, conjecturing, notwithstanding Reason, the Man therefore nam'd *Many*, because he knew the Nature of *None*. And may not we our selves expect, and deserve as justly to be drolled and rallied, who having not yet contracted one firm Friendship, seem nevertheless exceeding cautious of too *Many*. 'Tis almost the same thing as if one Maimed and Blind should appear solicitous, lest, like *Briareus*, he may chance to be furnish'd with an hundred Hands, and become all over Eye, and as quick-sighted as *Argus*.

However

However we can't but extol the Sense of that Young Man in *Menander* the Poet, upon his saying, *He counted every Man wonderfully honest and happy, who has found even the very Shadow of a Friend.* But all the Difficulty lies in finding him; and the chiefest Reason is, That in stead of one Choice, true Friend, nothing under a *Multitude* will content us; like Women of the Town, admitting the Embraces of all Gallants that come, at the gay appearance of the last which occur'd, we still neglect, flight and forget the former: or rather, as a Child cropping several sorts of Flowers, is foolishly and uselessly delighted a while with each in its turn, till one juffles the Image of the other out of his Fancy. So we of riper Years, from an inbred Affectation of Novelty, and disdain of things already possess'd, take up presently with the first promising Aspect of every fresh and new-blooming Friend: Laying all at once the Foundations of several Acquaintances, we leave each unfinish'd; and when we have scarce fix'd on one, our Love immediately falls there, while we passionately pursue some other.

Wherefore in this Affair let us ask the Opinion and Counsel of our Forefathers, and consider what Report the Records of Antiquity make concerning true Friends, They are, we find, always reckoned in Pairs; as *Theseus* and *Pirithous*, *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, *Orestes* and *Pylades*, *Pythias* and *Damon*, *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*. A Friend is a Creature *Sociable*, but effects not an Herd or a Flock; and his being usually called and esteemed another Self, is a convincing Argument that the Number *TWO* is the adequate and compleat Measure of Friendship. And in truth, a great number of Friends as well as Servants, is not to be purchased at an easie rate. That which procures Love and Friendship in the World, is a sweet and obliging Temper of Mind, a lively readiness in doing good Offices, together with a constant Habit of Vertue; than which Qualifications, nothing is
more

more rarely found in Nature : And therefore to Love and to be Beloved much, can have no place in a Multitude ; but the most eager Affection, if divided among numerous Objects (like a River divided into several Channels) must needs flow at length very weak and languishing. Upon this score those Animals love their Young most, which generate but one ; and *Homer* describing a beloved Child, calls it, *The Only-begotten, and born in Old-age, at such a time when the Parents neither have nor hope another.*

Yet I do not assert we ought to confine our selves only to one Friend ; but among the rest, there should be one Eminently so, not casually pick'd up at a Tavern or Eating-house, nor upon a promiscuous Meeting at a Public Horse-race, or a formal Salute as parting in the Streets, as is too common now a days ; but one chosen upon long and mature Deliberation, confirm'd by settled Converse, and with whom (according to that celebrated Proverb) *we have eaten a Bushel of Salt.*

The Palaces of Noble Men and Princes appear guarded with splendid Retinues of diligent, obsequious Servants, and every Room is crowded with a Throng of Viliters, who caress the Great Man with all the endearing Gestures and Expressions that Wit and Breeding can invent ; and it may be thought, I confess, at first sight, that such are very fortunate, in having so many cordial, real Friends at their command ; whereas 'tis all bare Pageantry and Shew : Change the Scene, and you may observe a far greater number of Flies as industriously busie in their Kitchens ; and as these would vanish were the Dishes empty and clean, so neither would that other sort of Insects pay any farther Respect , were nothing to be got by it.

There are chiefly these Requisites to true Friendship, *Vertue*, as a thing lovely and desirable ; *Familiar Conversation*, as pleasant ; and *Advantage*, as necessary. For

we must first chuse a Friend upon a right Judgment made of his Excellent Qualities ; having chosen him, we must perceive a pleasure in his Converse, and upon occasion he must be useful to us in our Concerns : All which (especially Judgment in our Choice, the main Point of all) are inconsistent with a numerous Acquaintance.

And first of all (to draw a Parallel in other Matters) If 'tis no small time required to select a great many Persons together, who can dance and sing in exact time to the same Tune, manage Oars with a like Strength and Vigour, be fit Stewards of our Estates, or Tutors of our Children ; certainly we must acknowledge it much more difficult to meet with any considerable number of Men qualified to bear the great Character of a Friend, all of such an equal Vertue and Honour, as only from the pure Obligations of Friendship, to stand by us in all the Turns of Fortune, and with an undaunted steady Mind, comfort and assist us in Adversity, as well as rejoyce with us in Prosperity. Even a Ship at Sea runs not the risk of so many Storms, nor are Castles, Forts and Havens secured with Walls, Ramparts and Chains, against the Apprehension of so many *Dangers* ; as there are Misfortunes a constant and approved Friendship mutually undertakes to encounter. Whoever without due trial put themselves upon us for Friends, we examine them as bad Money, and the Cheat being discovered, are glad if of their own accord they withdraw ; or if they persist, at least we wish with great impatience fairly to get rid of them : Yet we must own, 'tis a hard and troublesom Task to sham off a disagreeable Acquaintance ; for as unwholesom Meats which nauseate the Stomach can neither be retained without hazard of Health, nor yet ejected sincere as they were taken, but wholly disguised and defiled with other Humours ; so a mistaken false Friend must either be still entertained, and remain a meer vexation to us, as well as uneasie to him-

himself, or else by a kind of Convulsion be thrown up like disease, sharp Choler leaving behind the continual torment of private Grudgings and Hatred ; and therefore it highly concerns us not to be too rash in fastning on the next that may accidentally offer, nor presently to affect every one that pretends to be fond of our Friendship ; let the search rather begin on our own part, and our choice fix on those who approve themselves really worthy of our respect, what is Cheap and with ease obtained is below our Notice ; and we trample under foot Bushes and Brambles that readily catch hold of us ; while we diligently clear our way to the Vine and Olive ; thus persons who officiously stick and twist themselves about us, are generally such as deserve our Scorn and Contempt, and upon a long and serious view of all circumstances we ought rather of our own accord to court the kindness of those who are of repute in the World, and may prove most advantageous to our selves ; wherefore as *Zeuxis* replied (to some who blamed the slowness of his Pencil) that he therefore spent a long time in painting, because he designed his work should last for a long Eternity, so he that would secure a lasting friendship and acquaintance must first deliberately judge, and thoroughly try its worth before he settles it.

Suppose then 'tis hard to make a right Judgment in choosing many Friends together, it seems however, not unfeasible to maintain a familiarity with many : But even that also is impossible ; for Familiarity and Converse are the genuine Products and Enjoyments of true Friendship, and the highest pleasure the best Friends aim at, is a mutual exchange of good Humour ; a daily complaisancy in each others Company, a free communication of all Thoughts, Designs and Counsels, and (as *Menelaus* said of *Ulysses*) nothing but Death which Involves all things in one equal Darknes, ought ever to blot out, or dissolve the amicable Commerce ; now much acquaintance

acquaintance has a clear contrary event, and whereas single Friendship by kind Discourses and good Offices, cements, unite, and condenses as it were the two parties, like similar parts of Milk Coagulated into one firm and uniform Mass, this on the other side, unites, rends and breaks the bond, distracts our Inclinations with too much variety, and the agreeable just mixture of Affection, the very Cement of true Friends, is wholly lost in so loose and confused a Conversation.

Hence also the many kind Offices to which we stand engaged will be so unequal and of such different natures, that a constant foolish diffidence and shamefastness must needs attend us, *as if we were still conscious of an Indecency or Offence offered some where*, in our management of them: Thus multiplicity of Friends, renders those very parts of friendship vain and useless, whence advantage was most expected; neither can we hope it should be otherwise, if we consider different Persons are generally acted by as different Designs and Interests; Nature has not bestowed the same Inclinations on all, nor are we all born to the same Fortune; the occasions of transacting Business like the Wind, may often favour one of our acquaintance while it stands cross to another; however, suppose by great chance all should agree to crave assistance in the same Affair, whether at a Consult, exercise of a public trust in the Government, canvassing for preferment, entertaining Guests, or the like, yet 'tis exceeding hard to satisfy all; but now if they are engaged in diverse concerns at the very same moment of time, and every one should make his particular request to you, one to take a voyage with him, another to assist in pleading his cause, a third to prosecute a Criminal, a fourth to help in managing his Trade, another to Celebrate his Wedding, and another to attend a Funeral (so that in all this acquaintance there appears as great a Confusion as in that City where Sacrifices and the Songs of a Triumph were mingled with

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sorrowful

sorrowful Outcries and Lamentations ;) I say in this case 'tis utterly impossible to answer the requests of all, to gratify none is absurd, and to serve only one and disoblige the rest, is a thing grievous and intolerably rude, for none of these who thinks he has a right to your kindness, but will highly resent the neglect ; if indeed you could persuade that inadvertency was the cause of the omission you might more easily hope a pardon, and to plead forgetfulness is a sort of excuse which perhaps might pass without much angering your Friend, but to alledge I could not be advocate in your cause, being of Counsel for another, or I could not visit you in a Fever, because I was invited to a Feast elsewhere ; while 'tis thus confessed, we neglect one Friend to pay our respects to another, 'tis so far from extenuating the offence, that it highly aggravates it, and super-adds to all the Jealousies and Discontents incident to Rivals.

But commonly Men overlook these and such like inconveniences of a numerous acquaintance, and take only a prospect of its advantages, not in the least reflecting, whoever Impleys many assistants in his Affairs must in gratitude repay his Service to as many when they need it, and as *Briareus*, who with his hundred Hands was daily obliged for his bare Substance to feed fifty Stomachs, could thrive no better than our selves, who supply a single one with two Hands, so a Man of many Friends can't boast any other privilege but that of being a Slave to many, and of sharing in all the businesses, cares and disquiets that may befall them, neither can *Euripides* relieve him by advising (that the love of Friends ought not to take deep root in the Soul, that its bounds may be easily relaxt or fastned at pleasure, and that we should manage it as we steer a Ship tacking about upon all occasions as the Gale of Interest happens to blow) for such positions are so base as not to be named in friendship. Among persons at enmity this Counsel is useful
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and proper ; Heats and Animosities ought to be moderate, and never reach the inmost recesses of the Soul : Hatred, Anger, Complaints and Jealousies may with good reason be readily appealed and forgotten ; but here the case is far otherwise among Friends, all Coldness and Inconstancy are crimes unpardonable, and no circumstances of life whatever must untie the knot ; whereupon 'tis far more advisable (as *Pythagoras* directs) not to shake Hands with too many, nor with a popular kind of easiness, court and embrace every acquaintance that occurs, since much to the overballance of its benefits, it carries with it on the reverse a thousand mischiefs, among which (as was before hinted) to bare a part of the same cares, to be affected with the same sorrows, and to be embroil'd in the same enterprizes and dangers with any great number of Friends will be a sort of life hardly tolerable even to the most ingenuous and generous tempers.

What *Chilon* the Wise Man remarkt to one, who said he had no Enemies, namely, That he seemed rather to have no Friends, has a great deal of truth ; for enmities always keep pace and are interwoven with Friendships, and 'tis impossible any should be Friends, that resent not mutually the affronts and injuries offered unto either, and that do not hate alike, and in common : They also, who are Enemies to your self, will presently suspect and hate your Friend, even for that very reason because he is your Friend ; nay, your other Friends too, will often envy, calumniate and undermine him ; so that even amongst the many Friends you boast of, every one is a Rival to the other, and there is none but will take it ill, and at length prove your Enemy if he cannot Engross the whole of your kindness ; wherefore what the Oracle foretold *Timeas* concerning his planting a Colony, that an Hive of Bees should be chang'd into a nest of Wasps, may not impertinently be apply'd to those, who being ambitious of a multitude of Friends, by their folly and rashness

create to themselves on all hands a vexatious swarm of Enemies.

Besides, we should do well to consider the kindest affection of Friends seldom compensates for the misfortunes that befall us from the malice of Enemies. 'Tis well known how *Alexander* treated the Familiars of *Philotas* and *Parmenio*, *Dionysius*, those of *Dion*, *Nero* those of *Plautus*, and *Tiberius* those of *Sejanus* all shared the same hard Fate of being Rackt to death for the sake of their Principles. For as the Gold and Riches *Creon's* Daughter was adorned with, could not secure the good Old Father from being consumed in her flames, endeavouring too officiously to rescue her; so not a few partake of the calamities and ruin of their Friends before they have reapt the least advantage from their prosperity; a misfortune to which Philosophers and the best natur'd men are most liable, and was the case of *Thesus*, who for the sake of his dear *Pirithus*, shar'd his punishment, and was bound with him in the same Eternal chains: Thus in the Plague of *Athens* (says *Thuciddies*) the most brave, generous and virtuous Citizens, while without regard to their own safety, they visited the Sick, frequently expir'd in the bosom of their Friends as with one common breath. Such accidents as these ought to admonish us, not to be too prodigal of our Virtue, nor inconsiderately to prostitute our perfections to the enjoyment of every little thing that pretends to be our humble admirer, rather let us reserve them for the worthy, for such who in all points come up to our own Character, and can love at the same rate with our selves.

And truly, this alone renders it most unlikely, many Men should remain Friends, that real Friendship has always its origine from likeness; for we may observe, even Brute and Inanimate Beings affect their like, very readily mixing and uniting with things of their own Nature; while with great reluctancy and a kind of indignation

dignation they shrink from, and avoid whatever differs from themselves, and the force of Art can scarce oblige them to the loathed embraces: By what motive then can we imagine any League of Amity can be kept Inviolable amidst a multitude, where manners admit of so much variety, where desires and humours will be perpetually jarring, where the several courses of life must needs be almost as unlike as constitutions and faces? A Musical concord often consists of contrary sounds, and a due composition of flat and sharp Notes makes a delightful Tune, but as for Friendship, that's a sort of Harmony all of a piece, admits not the least Inequality, unlikeness, or discord of parts, where all Discourses, Opinions, Inclinations and Designs serve one common interest, as if several Bodies were acted and inform'd by the same Soul: Now, is there any Person living of that industrious, pliant, and universal humour, who can take the pains exactly to imitate all Shapes, and will not rather deride the advice of *Theognis* as absurd and impossible, namely, to learn the Craft of the *Pourcuttle*, which in all prospects puts on the hue of every Stone it sticks to; however the changes of this Fish are only Superficial, and the Colours are only variously reflected from its Skin by which neighbouring Bodies are resembled, whereas the resemblance betwixt Friends must be far more than Skin-deep, must be substantial, and pass through all Demensions, such as may be trac'd in every Action of their lives, in all their Affections, Dispositions, Words and Purposes, even to their most retir'd thoughts; a piece of Imitation beyond all the ordinary power and cunning of *Proteus* himself to perform, and whoever undertakes it, must by a miraculous kind of *Legerdemain* upon every emergent occasion change throughout, and often in one instant start up a Person perfectly distinct from himself; must be learned and Bookish among the learned, Horse-race, Fence, Dance and Wrestle with Persons addicted

to such Sports, drudge chearfully after a pack of Hounds with Gentlemen that love Hunting, Drink, Swear and Rant with Debauches, and when all on a sudden prove Grave, Sober and Wise with States-men ; in fine, must have no proper Principles of Actions and Humours of his own, but those of the present Company he converses with. Thus as the first matter of the Philosophers is originally rude and uninformed, yet being the Subject of all natural changes, becomes either Fire, or Water, Air, or Earth, and the like, as the particular Form determines it, so a Person that affects a numerous Friendship, must possess a mind full of folds and windings, such as may easily be transformed into infinite sorts of Figures, as if the Inclinations of all mankind were transcribed in one ; but real Friendship requires a sedate, stable and unalterable temper, so that 'tis a rare thing, and next a miracle, to find a constant and a sure Friend.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. I.

*The first Oration of Plutarch concerning Fortune or Vertue of Alexander the Great.**Translated from the Greek by J. Phillips, Gent.*

THIS is the Oration of *Fortune*, asserting and challenging *Alexander* to be the Master-piece of her long continu'd Favours. In contradiction to which, it behoves us to say something on the behalf of *Philosophy*, or rather in the defence of *Alexander* himself; who cannot chuse but spurn away the very thoughts of having receiv'd his Empire at the Hands of *Fortune*; while Fame and Grandeur being the Purchase of Labour and Indefatigable Industry, were so dearly bought with the Price of his lost Blood, and many Wounds. Of whom it is said,

*Full many a bloody Day
In toilsom Fight he spent;
And many a wakeful Night
In Battel's management.*

And all this in opposition to Armies almost Irresistible, numberless Nations, Rivers before impassable, and Rocks impenetrable; Chusing however for his Chiefest Guides and Counsellors, Prudence, Endurance, Fortitude and Steadiness of Mind. And now, methinks, I hear him speaking thus to *Fortune*, signalizing her self with his Successes: *Envy not my Vertue, nor go about to detract from my*

Honour. Darius was a Fabrick of thy own rearing, who of a Servant, and the Kings Harbinger, was by thee advanced to be Monarch of all Persia. The same was Sardanapalus who from a Comer of Purple Wool, was rais'd by thee to wear the Royal Diadem. But I, subduing as I marched, from Arbela forced my Passage even to Susa it self. Cilicia open'd me a broad Way into Egypt; into Cilicia, Granicus: o're which I passed without resistance, after I had first trampled under foot the slain Carcasses of Michridates and Spithridates. Pamper up thy self, and boast thy Kings, that never felt a Wound, nor ever saw a Finger bleed: For they were fortunate, 'tis true, thy Ochi, and thy Artaxerxes's; who were no sooner born, but they were by thee established in the Throne of Cyrus. But my Body carries many Marks of Fortunes Unkindness, who rather fought against me as an Enemy, than assisted me as her Friend. First, among the Illyrians, I was wounded in the Head with a Stone, and received a Blow i'th' Neck with an Iron Mace. Then, near to Granicus, my Head was a second time gashed with a Barbarian Scimitar; at Issus, run thorough the Thigh with a Sword: At Gaza I was shot in the Heel with a Dart; and not long after, falling heavy from my Saddle, forced my Shoulder out of Joynt. Among the Maracadartæ my Shin-bone was split with an Arrow. The rest, the Wounds I received in India will declare, and the strenuous Acts of Daring Courage; in which while I was still Headmost, I was shot thorow the Shoulder with another Arrow. Encountring the Gondridæ, my Thigh was wounded; and one of the Malli drew his Bow with that force, that the well directed Arrow made way thorow my Iron Arms to lodg it self in my Breast; besides the Blow in my Neck, at what time the Scaling Ladders brake that were set to the Walls, and Fortune left me alone, to gratifie with the Fall of so great a Person, not a Renowned or Illustrious Enemy, but Ignoble and Worthless Barbarians. So that had not Ptolemy covered me with his Shield, and Limnæus, after he had received a thousand Wounds directed at my Body, fallen dead before me; or if the Macedonians, breathing nothing but

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Courage, and their Princes Rescue, had not opened a timely Breach, that Barbarous and Nameless Village might have proved Alexander's Tomb.

Take the whole Expedition together, and what was it but a patient Endurance of Cold Winters, and parching Droughts; Depths of Rivers trampled over, Rocks inaccessible to the Winged Fowl surmounted, Amazing Sight of strange Wild Beasts, Savage Diet, and lastly, Revolts and Treasons of far-controuling Potentates. As to what before the Expedition befel me, 'Tis well known, that all Greece lay gasping and panting under the fatal Effects of the Phillippic Wars. But then the Athenians raising themselves, after so desperate a Fall, upon their Feet again, shook from their Arms the Dust of Chæroneia; with whom also joined the Thebans, reaching forth their helping Hands. The Treacherous Macedonians, studying nothing but Revenge, cast their Eyes upon the Sons of Æropus: The Illyrians brake out into an open War, and the Schyrians advanced their Heads, to see their Neighbours meditating new Revolutions. While the Persian Gold liberally scattered among the Popular Leaders of every City, put all the Peloponnesus into Motion.

King Philip's Treasuries were at that time empty, besides that he was then in debt, as *Onesioritus* relates, Two hundred Talents. In the midst of so much pressing Want, and such menacing Troubles, a Youth, but newly past the Age of Childhood, durst aspire to the Conquest of *Babylon* and *Susa*, or rather project in his Thoughts Supreme Dominion over all Mankind; and all this, trusting only to the Strength of Thirty Thousand Foot, and Four Thousand Horse: For so many they were, by the Account which *Aristobulus* gives; by the Relation of King *Ptolomy*, Five thousand Horse: From both which *Anaximenes* varying, musters up the Foot to Three and forty thousand, and the Horse to Five thousand five hundred. Now the Glorious and Magnificent Sum which Fortune had raised to supply the Necessities of so great
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an Expedition, was no more then Thirty Talents, according to *Aristobulus* ; or, as *Doris* records it, only Thirty days Provision. You'l say therefore, That *Alexander* was too rash and daringly inconsiderate, with such a slender Support to rush upon so vast an Opposition. By no means; For who was ever better fitted than he for Splendid Enterprizes, with all the choicest and most excelling Precepts of Magnanimity, Consideration, Wisdom and virtuous Fortitude ; with which a Princely and Philosophical Education largely supplied him in order to his Expedition? So that we may properly affirm, That he invaded *Persia* with greater Assistance from *Aristotle*, than his Father *Philip*. As for those who write, how *Alexander* was wont to say, That the *Iliads* and *Odysses* had always followed him in his Wars ; in honour to *Homer*, I believe 'em. Nevertheless, if any one affirm, That the *Iliads* and *Odysses* were admitted of his Train meerly as the Recreation of his wearied Thoughts, or Pastime of his leisure Hours ; but that Philosophical Learning, and Commentaries concerning Contempt of Fear, Fortitude, Temperance and Nobleness of Spirit, were the real Cabinet-Provision which he carried along for his Personal use, and made more reckoning of the one than the other : We condemn their Assertion. For he was not a Person that ever wrote concerning Arguments or Syllogisms ; none of those who, like the *Peripateticks*, observed his Walks in the *Lyceum*, or held Disputes in the Academy: For thus they circumscribe Philosophy, who believe it to consist in Discoursing, not in Action. And yet we find, that neither *Pythagoras* or *Socrates*, *Archefilaus* or *Carneades*, were ever celebrated for their Writings, though the most approved and esteemed among all the Philosophers. Yet no such busie Wars as these employed their Time in civilizing wild and barbarous Kings, in building *Grecian* Cities among rude and unpolished Nations, nor in settling Government and Peace among People that lived without Humanity

Humanity or Controul of Law. They only lived at ease, and in the midst of all their leisure, surrendred the Business and Trouble of Writing to the more Contentious Sophisters. Whence it came to pass, that they were believed to be Philosophers? Whether from their Sayings, from the Lives they led, or the Precepts which they taught? Upon these Grounds let us take a Prospect of *Alexander*, and we shall soon find him, by what he said, by what he acted, and by his Regal Discipline, to be a great Philosopher.

And first, if you please, consider that which seems the farthest distant of all from the common received Opinion, the Difference between the Disciples of *Alexander*, and the Pupils of *Plato* and *Socrates*. The latter instructed Persons ingenious, such as spake the same Speech, well understanding, if nothing else, the *Grecian* Language. Nor did their Precepts prevail with many neither: for that *Critias*, *Alcibiades* and *Clitophon*, rejecting their Doctrine, as a Bridle between their Teeth, follow'd the Conduct of their own Inclinations.

On the other side, take a view of *Alexander's* Discipline, and you shall see how he taught the *Hyrceanians* the Conveniency of Wedlock, introduced Husbandry among the *Aracossians*, perswaded the *Sogdians* to preserve and cherish, not to kill their Aged Parents; the *Persians* to reverence and honour, not to marry their Mothers: Most admirable Philosophy! which induced the *Indians* to worship the *Grecian* Deities, and wrought upon the *Scythians* to bury their deceased Parents, not to feed upon their Carcases. We admire the Power of *Carneades's* Eloquence, for enforcing the *Carthaginian* *Clitomachus*, called *Asdrubal* before, to embrace the *Grecian* Customs. No less we wonder at the prevailing Reason of *Zeno*, by whom the *Babylonian* *Diogenes* was charmed into the love of Philosophy. Yet no sooner had *Alexander* subdued the *Persians*, but *Homer* became an Author in high esteem, and the
Persian,

Persian, Sufian and Gedrosian Youth in public sang the Tragedies of *Euripides* and *Sophocles*. Among the *Athenians*, *Socrates*, introducing Foreign Deities, at the Prosecution of his Accusers, was condemned to Death. But *Alexander* engaged both *Bactra* and *Caucasus* to worship the *Grecian* Gods, which they had never known before. Lastly, *Plato*, tho he never proposed but one single Form of a Commonwealth, could never perswade any People to make use of it, by reason of the Austerity of his Government: But *Alexander* building above seventy Cities among the Barbarous Nations, and as it were, sowing the *Grecian* Customs and Constitutions all over *Asia*, quite weaned them from their former wild and savage manner of Living. The Laws of *Plato* here and there a single Person may peradventure study; but Myriads of People have made, and still make use of *Alexander's*; more happy they becoming thus whom *Alexander* vanquished, then they who fled his Conquests. Of those there were none but such as continu'd in their ancient state of Misery: These the Victor compell'd to better Fortune. True therefore was that Expression of *Themistocles*, when a Fugitive from his Native Country, *Darius* entertain'd him with sumptuous Presents, and assign'd him three Stipendiary Cities to supply his Table, one with Bread, a second with Wine, a third with all manner of costly Viands; *Ab! Young Men*, said he, *had we not bin lost, we had utterly perished*. Which may however be more justly averr'd of those whom *Alexander* subdued, *Had they not been vanquished, they had never been civilized*. *Egypt* had not vaunted her *Alexandria*, nor *Mesopotamia* her *Seleucia*: *Sogdia* had not gloried in her *Prothasia*, nor the *Indians* boasted their *Bucephalia*, or *Caucasus* its neighbouring *Grecian* City; which holding the Reins of Imperial Awe, Barbarity perished by degrees, and Custom changed the worse into better.

If then Philosophers assume to themselves their highest Applause, for cultivating the most fierce and rugged Conditions of Men ; certainly *Alexander* is to be acknowledged the Chiefest of Philosophers, who chang'd the wild and brutish Customs of so many various Nations, reducing them to Order and Government.

'Tis true, indeed, That so much admired Commonwealth of *Zeno*, first Author of the *Stoic* Sect, aims singly at this, That neither in Cities, nor in private Houses, we should live under Laws distinct one from another, but that we should look upon all Men in general to be our Fellow Country men and Citizens, observing one manner of Living, one kind of Order, like a Flock feeding together with equal Right in one common Pasture. This *Zeno* wrote, fancying to himself, as in a Dream, a certain Scheme of Civil Order, and the Image of a Philosophical Commonwealth. But *Alexander* made good his Words by his Deeds : For, as *Aristotle* sagely advised him, he did not rule the *Grecians* like a Moderate Prince, and insult over the *Barbarians* like an Absolute Tyrant ; neither like one that took particular Care of the first, as his Friends and Domesticks ; but scorning the latter as meer Bruits and Vegetables , did he fill his Empire with Fugitive Incendiaries, and perfidious Tumults. But believing himself sent from Heaven as the Common Moderator and Arbiter of all Nations, and subduing those by Force whom he could not associate to himself by fair Offers, he laboured thus , that he might bring all Regions far and near under the same Dominion. And then, as in a Festival Goblet, mixing Conversations, Manners, Customs, Wedlocks, all together, he ordained, That every one should take the whole Habitable World for his Country, of which his Camp and Army should be the Chief Metropolis and Garrison ; that his Friends and Kindred should be the Good and Vertuous, and that the Vicious only should be accounted Foreigners. Nor would he

he that the *Greeks* should be distinguish'd from the *Barbarians* by their long Garments, by their Targets, their Scimitars, or Turbants; but that the *Grecians* should be known by their Vertue and Courage, and the *Barbarians* by their Vices and their Cowardice: However, that their Habit, their Diet, their Marriages, and Custom of Converse should be every where the same engaged and blended together by the Ties of Blood, and pledges of Offspring.

Therefore it was that *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*, an acquaintance and friend of *Philip*, when he beheld *Alexander* in *Susa*, bursting into Tears of more than ordinary joy, bewailed the deceased *Greeks*, who, as he said, had been bereaved of the greatest blessing on Earth, for that they had not seen *Alexander* sitting upon the Throne of *Darius*. Though most assuredly for my part, I do not envy the Beholders their gay shew, which was only a thing of chance and happiness of the more Ordinary Kings. But I would gladly have been a Spectator of those Majestic and Sacred Nuptials, when after he had betrothed together a hundred *Persian* Brides, and a hundred *Macedonian* Bridegrooms, he placed them all at one common Table within the Compass of one Pavillion Embroidered with Gold, as being all of the same Family; then Crown'd with a Nuptial Garland, and first beginning to Sing an *Epithalamium* in honour of the Conjunction between two of the Greatest and most Potent Nations in the World, of only one the Bride, of all the Brideman, Father and Moderator, he caused the several Couples to be severally Married. Had I but beheld this sight, extasied with pleasure, I should have then cried out, Barbarous and Stupid *Zerxes*, how vain was all thy Toil to cover the *Hellepont* with a floating Bridge! Thus rather Wise and Prudent Princes to *Europe*, *Asia* joyn. They joyn and fasten Nations together, not with Boards or Planks, or Surging Brigandines, not with Inanimate

animate and Insensible Bonds, but by the Ties of Legitimate Love, Chast Nuptials, and the Infallible Gage of Progeny. But then, when he considered the Eastern Garments, *Alexander* preferr'd the *Persian*, before the *Median* Habit, though much the meaner and more frugal. Yet so as not altogether to lay aside his own Country-Garb; and therefore, rejecting the Gaudy and Scenical Ornament of *Barbarian* Gallantry, such as were the *Tiara* and *Candys* (or Regal Attire for the Head) together with the Upper Breeches, he order'd a Mixture of the *Macedonian* and *Persian* Modes to be observ'd in all the Garments which he wore, according to the report of *Erato-sthenes*. As a Philosopher, contenting himself with *Mediocrity*; but as the Common Chieftain of both, and as a mild and affable Prince, willing to gain the Affection of the vanquish'd by the esteem which he shew'd to the Mode of the Country; that so they might continue the more stedfast in their Loyalty to the *Macedonians*, not hating them as their Enemies, but loving them as their Native Princes and Rulers. A behaviour contrary to that of Persons insipid and puffed up with Prosperity, who Wedded to their own humours, admire the single colour'd Robe, but cannot endure the *Tunic* interwoven with Purple: Or else are well pleas'd with the latter, and hate the former. Like young Children in love with the Mode in which, as another Nurse, their Country custom first apparelled 'em. And yet we see, that they who hunt Wild Beasts, Cloath themselves with their Hairy Skins; and Fowlers make use of Feather'd Jerkins; nor are others less wary how they shew themselves to wild Bulls in Purple, or to Elephants in white; in regard those Creatures are provok'd and inrag'd at the sight of those Colours. If then this Potent Monarch, designing to Reclaim and Civilize Stubborn and Warlike Nations, took the same course, as others with Wild Beasts, to soften and allay their imbred fury, and at length brought 'em

to be tame and tractable by making use of their Familiar Habits, and submitting to their customary course of Life, thereby removing Animosity from their Breasts, and fowre looks from their Countenances; shall we blame his management? or rather, must we not admire his Wisdom? As he, who by so slight a change of Apparel rul'd all *Asia*, Subduing their Bodies with his Arms, and vanquishing their Mind with his Habit? 'Tis a strange thing; we applaud *Socratic Aristippus*, for that being sometimes clad in a poor Thred-bare Cloak, sometimes in a *Milesian Robe*, he kept a Decency in both: But they censure *Alexander*, because he gave an equal respect to the Garb and Mode of those whom he had Vanquish'd, as to that of his Native Country; not considering that he was laying the foundation of vast atchievements. It was not his design to ransack *Asia* like a Robber, or to despoil and ruin it as expos'd to the Prey and Rapin of unexpected Prosperity; as lately *Hannibal* pillag'd *Italy*, before him the *Torres* ravag'd *Jonia*, and the *Scythians* harass'd *Media*; but to subdue all the Kingdoms of the Earth under one form of Government, and to make one Nation of all Mankind. So that if the same Deity, which hither sent the Soul of *Alexander*, had not too soon recall'd it, I question whether one Law had not overlook'd all the World, and one Form of Justice might not have been as it were the Common Light of one Universal Government, while now that part of the Earth remains without a *Sun*, which *Alexander* never saw.

Thus in the first place, the very Scope and Aim of *Alexander's* Expedition speaks him a Philosopher, as one that sought not for himself Luxurious Splendor, or grasp'd at Hideous Riches, but to establish Concord, Peace and Mutual Community among all Men.

Next, let us consider his Sayings, seeing that the Souls of all other Kings and Potentates detect their Conditions and Inclinations by their Expressions. *Antigonus* the Aged, having

having heard a certain Poet sing before him a short Treatise concerning Justice, *Thou art a Fool*, said he, to mention Justice to me, when thou seest me thundering down the Cities belonging to other People about their Ears. Dionysius the Tyrant was wont to say, *That Children were to be cheated with Dice, but Men with Oaths*. Upon the Monument of Sardanapalus this Inscription is to be seen.

*What Wrong and Luxury did once devour,
That still I have ; I only wish for more.*

What now can any Man say of these Apophthegms, but that the first denotes Injustice, and immoderate desire of Sovereignty ; the next Impiety, and the third Excessive love of Pleasure ? But as for the Sayings of Alexander, set aside his Diadem, his claim'd descent from Ammon, and the Nobility of his Macedonian Extraction, you would believe them to have been the Sayings of Socrates, Plato or Pythagoras. For we omit the swelling Hyperboles of Flattery, which Poets have Inscrib'd under his Images and Statues, studying rather to extol the Power of Alexander, than his Moderation and Temperance. As for Example,

*Then in his Shining Arms to Heav'n he look'd,
And viewing Jove, the Thunderer thus bespake ;
Take thou Olympus, I the Earth will take.*

And that other,

This is Alexander the Son of Jupiter.

But these, as I said, were only the flashes of Poetic Adulation, magnifying his good success. Let us therefore come to such Sentences as were really utter'd by Alexander himself, beginning first with the early Blossoms of his Childhood.

'Tis well known that for swiftness in running he exceeded all that were of his years ; for which reason, some of his most Familiar Play-fellows perswading him to shew himself at the Olympic Games, he ask'd 'em, *Whether there were any Kings to contend with him ?* who replying, *No*

any. *The Contest then, said he, is unequal and unjust; where Kings no honour get by overcoming Private Persons, but Private Persons shall be Eterniz'd, if Victorious over Kings.*

His Father, King Phillip, being run through the Thigh in a Battle against the Triballi, and though he escaped the danger, not a little troubl'd at the deformity of his limping, *Be of good chear, Father, said he, and shew your self in Public, that your Gate may keep your Courage in your Memory.*

Are not these the Products of a Mind truly Philosophical, and by an inspir'd Inclination to the Beauties of the Mind, already contemning the disfigurings of the Body? Nor can we otherwise believe, but that he himself, glorifi'd in his own wounds, which every time he beheld 'em, call'd to his remembrance the Nation and the Victory, what Cities he had tak'n, what Kings had render'd themselves, never striving to conceal or cover those indeliable Characters and Scars of Honour, which he always carried about him, as the engraven Testimonies of his Vertue and Fortitude. Then again, if any Dispute arose, or Judgment were to be given upon any of *Homer's* Verses, either in the Schools or at Meals, this that follows he always preferred above the rest,

Both a good King, and far renown'd in War.

Believing, that the praise, which another by precedency of time, had anticipated, was to be a Law also to himself; as if *Homer* in the same Verse had extolled the Fortitude of *Agamemnon*, and Prophesied of his. Crossing therefore the Hellespont he viewed the City of *Troy*, resolving in his Mind the Heroic Acts of Antiquity. At what time one of the Chief Citizens proffering to present him with *Paris's* Harp, if he pleased to accept it, *I need it not, said he, for I have that with which Achilles pleased himself already.*

*While he the mighty deeds of Hero's sang,
Whose Fame so loudly o're the world has rung.*

As for *Paris*, his Soft and Effeminate Harmony was devoted only to the pleasures of Amorous Courtship. But 'tis the part of a true Philosophers Soul, to love Wisdom, and chiefly to admire Wise Men. This was *Alexanders* praise beyond all other Princes; whose high esteem for his Master *Aristotle* we have already mention'd. No less honour did he give to *Anaxarchus* the *Musitian* whom he favour'd as one of his choicest Friends. To *Pyrrhon*, the first time he saw him, he gave a thousand Crowns in Gold. To *Zenocrates*, the Companion of *Plato*, he sent a Honorary present of two hundred Talents. Lastly, it is recorded by several, that he made *Onesicratus* the Disciple of *Diogenes* the *Cynic*, chief of his Provincial Presidents. But when he came to discourse with *Diogenes* himself at *Corinth*, he was struck in such a manner with wonder and astonishment at the course of Life and sententious Learning of the Person, that frequently calling him to mind, he was wont to say, *Had I not been Alexander, I would have been Diogenes*. That is, I would have Devoted my self to the Study of Words, had I not been a Philosopher in Deeds. He did not say, had I not been a King, I would have been *Diogenes*; nor had I not been Opulent and *Argeades*. For he did not prefer Fortune before Wisdom; nor the Purple Robe or Regal Diadem before the Beggars Waller, and Thread-bare Mantle; but he said, *Had I not been Alexander, I would have been Diogenes*. That is, had I not design'd to intermix *Barbarians* and *Greeks*, and as I march'd forward to Civilize the Earth; and had I not propos'd to search the Limits of Sea and Land, and so extending *Macedon* to the Land-bounding Ocean, to have sown *Greece* in every Region all along, and to have diffus'd Justice and Peace over all Nations, I would not have sat yawning upon the Throne of Slothful and Voluptuous Power, but would have labour'd to imitate the Frugality of *Diogenes*. But now Pardon us *Diogenes*:

We follow the Example of *Hercules*, we emulate *Perseus* and treading the Footsteps of *Bacchus*, our Divine Ancestor and Founder of our Race, once more we purpose to settle the Victorious *Greeks* in *India*, and once more put those Savage Multitudes beyond *Caucasus*, in mind of their ancient *Bacchanalian* Revels. There, by report, live certain People professing a more rigid and austere Philosophy, and more frugal than *Diogenes*, as going altogether naked. Pious Men, govern'd by their own constitutions and devoted wholly to God ; they have no occasion for Scrip or Waller, for they never lay up provision, having it always fresh and new gather'd from the Earth. The Rivers afford 'em Drink, and at Night they rest upon the Grass, and Leaves that fall from the Trees. By our means shall they know *Diogenes*, and *Diogenes* them : But it behoves us first as it were to make a new Coin, and to stamp a new Face of *Grecian* Civility upon the *Barbarian* Mettal.

Tell me now ; Such Generous Acts of *Alexander* as these, can they be thought to speak the *Spontaneous* favours of Fortune, only an impetuous torrent of success, and strength of Hand ? Do they not rather demonstrate much of Fortitude and Justice, much of Mildness and Temperance, acting all things with Decorum and Consideration, with a Sober and Intelligent Conduct. Not that I (believe me) go about to distinguish between the several Acts of *Alexander*, and to ascribe this to Fortitude, that to Humanity, another to Temperance ; but taking the whole Act to be an Act of all the Vertues mixed together. Conformable to that *Stoical* Sentence, *That what a Wise Man does, he Acts by the Impulse of all the Vertues together.* Only one particular Vertue seems to head every Action, and calling the rest to her assistance, drives on to the end propos'd. Therefore we may behold in *Alexander* a Warlike Humanity ; a Meek Fortitude ; a Liberality poised with good Husbandry ; Anger easily appeased,

Chast

Chast Amours; a busie Relaxation of Mind, and Labour not wanting Recreation, who ever like him, mixed Festivals with Combats, Revel and Jollity with Expeditions, with Sieges and difficult Attempts, Nuptials and Bacchanals? To those that offended against the Law who more severe to the unfortunate, who more pitiful? To those that made resistance, who more terrible? To his Prisoners; who more merciful? Which gives me an occasion to insert here the saying of *Porus*. For he being brought a Captive before *Alexander* and by him demanded how he expected to be treated? *King-like*, said he O *Alexander*: And being further asked, whether he desired no more? he replied, *Nothing*: For all things are comprehended in that word, *King-like*. And for my part, I know not how to give a greater applause to the Actions of *Alexander*, then by adding the word *Philosophically*, for in that word all other things are included. Being ravished with the Beauty of *Roxana*, the Sister of *Oxyathres*, Dancing among the Captive Ladies, he ne're assailed her with injurious Lust, but Married her, *Philosophically*. Beholding *Darius* stuck to the Heart with several Arrows, he did not presently Sacrifice to the Gods, or sing Triumphant Songs, as if the War were then at an end, but unclasping his Robe from his own Shoulders, threw it over the dead Corps, *Philosophically*, as it were to cover the shame of Royal Calamity. Another time, as he was perusing a private Letter, sent him by his Mother, he observed *Epheston*, who was sitting by him, to read it along with him, little understanding what he did. For which unwary Act, *Alexander* forbore to reprove him; only clapping his Signet to his Mouth kindly admonished him, that his Lips were then Sealed up to silence by the friendly Confidence which he reposed in him: all this *Philosophically*. And indeed if these were not acts done *Philosophically*, where shall we find others? Let us produce some few of those who are by all allowed to be Philosophers. *Socrates* yielded to the Lustful Embraces of

Alcyabides. Alexander, when *Philoxenus*, Governour of the Sea-Coasts, wrote to him concerning an *Iouean* Lad, that had not his equal for Years and Beauty, and desired to know whether he should be sent to him or no, returned him this nipping Answer: *Vilest of Men, when wert thou ever privy to any such desires of mine, that thou shouldst think to flatter me with abhorred allurements of Pandarism?* We admire the abstinency of *Xenocrates*, for refusing the gift of fifty Talents which *Alexander* sent him; but we take no notice of the Munificence of the giver. As if the bountiful Person were not to be thought as much a Contemner of Money, as he that refuses it. *Xenocrates* needed not Riches by reason of his *Philosophy*. But *Alexander* wanted wealth, because a Philosopher, that he might be the more liberal to such Persons, according to his Dignity. We magnifie those Philosophers who have left behind the sublimest Apophthegms upon the contempt of Death. How often has *Alexander* witnessed the same in the midst of a thousand dangers? 'Tis true, we do believe that it is in the power of all Men to judge rightly of things. For Nature guides us of her self to Vertue and Bravery. But herein Philosophers excel all others, in regard they have by Education acquired a fixed and solid Judgment to encounter whatever dangers they meet with; as being confirmed by certain Maxims which they carry always in their Hands; such as this in *Homer*.

Let us our Country bravely but defend,

That's the only Omen must our Fate portend.

And that other of *Demosthenes*,

Death is the certain end of all Mankind.

But sudden Apparitions of imminent danger, many times break our Resolutions, and the fancy troubled with the Imagination of approaching Peril chases away true Judgment from her Seat. For fear not only astonishes the Memory, according to the Saying of *Thucydides*, but dissipates all manner of Consideration, sense of Honour and Resolution, but Philosophy binds and keeps 'em together. * * * * *

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. I.

The Second Oration of Plutarch concerning the Fortune or Vertue of Alexander the Great.

Translated from the Greek by J. Philips Gent.

WE forgot in our Yesterdays Discourse to tell ye, That the Age wherein *Alexander* flourish'd had the happiness to abound in several Sciences, and Persons of transcending Natural Endowments. Yet is not this to be ascribed to *Alexander's*, but their own good Fortune, which favoured them with such a Judge, and such a Spectator of their particular Excellencies, as was both able rightly to discern, and liberally to reward their understood Deserts. Therefore it is recorded of *Archistratus*, born some Ages after an Elegant Poet, but buried in his own extream Poverty, that a certain Person meeting him, *Hadst thou but lived*, said he, *when Alexander lived*, for every Verse he would have gratified thee with an Island of Cyprus, or a Territory fair as that of Phœnicia. Which makes me of opinion, those former famous Artists and soaring Genius's, may not so properly be said to have had their Being in *Alexander's* Time, as by *Alexander* himself. For as the Temperature of the Season, and limpid Thinness of the surrounding Air, produce Plenty of Grain and Fruit; so the Favour, the Encouragement and Benignity of a Prince, encrease the number of aspiring Ingenuities, and

advance Perfection in Sciences : As on the other side, by the Envy, Covetousness, and morose Disdain of those in Power, whatever soars to the heighth of true Bravery or Invention, is utterly quell'd and extinguish'd. Therefore it is reported of *Dionysius* the Tyrant, That being pleased with the Music of a certain Player on a Harp, he promised him a Talent for his Reward: But when the Musician claimed his Promise the next day, *Yesterday*, said he, *by thee delighted, while thou sangest before me, I gave thee likewise the pleasure of thy Hopes ; and thence immediately didst thou receive the Reward of thy delightful Pastime, enjoying at the same time the charming Expectation of my Promise.* In like manner *Alexander*, Tyrant of the *Phe-ræans* (for it behoves us to distinguish him by that *Addi-tion*, lest we should dishonour his *Name-sake*) sitting to see a Tragedy, instead of being affected with the Cruelties acted, found himself moved to a more then ordinary Compassion. Upon which, leaping suddenly from his Seat, as he hastily flung out of the Theatre, *How poor and mean it would look, said he, if I that have massacred so many of my own Citizens and Subjects, should be seen here weeping at the Misfortunes of Hecuba and Polixena.* And it was an even lay, but that he had mischiefed the Tragedian, for having, like Iron softned by Fire, mollified his cruel and merciless Disposition. *Timotheus* also, singing to *Archelaus*, who seemed more parcimonious in Remuneration, frequently upbraided him with the following Sarcasm ;

Base Earth-bred Silver thou admirest.

To whom *Archelaus* not unwittily repartee'd,

And therefore thou begg'dst it.

Anteus, King of the *Scythians*, having taken *Ismenia* the Musician Prisoner, commanded him to play during one of his Royal Banquets : At what time, when all the rest
admired

admired and applauded his Harmony, *Anteus* swore, *The Neighing of a Horse was more delightful to his Ears.* So great a Stranger was he to the Habitations of the Muses; as one whose Soul lodged always in his Stables, fitter however to accompany with Asses than Horses. Therefore among such Kings, what Progress or Advancement of Noble Sciences, or Esteem for Learning, can be expected? Yet they would not be thought to be *Anti-Artists* neither, and therefore not enduring any more excellent than themselves, they persecute such with all the Hatred and Envy imaginable. In the number of these was *Dionysius* before mentioned, who condemned *Philoxenus* the Poet to labour in the Quarries, for that being by the Tyrant commanded only to mend a Tragedy by him written, he struck out every Line from the Beginning to the End. Nay, I must needs say, that *Philip*, as one who became a Student not till his later Years, in these things descended beneath himself: For it being once his Chance to enter into a Dispute with a Musician about *Sounds*, whom he thought he had foiled in his Art, the Person modestly, and with a smile replied, *May never so much Misfortune befall thee, O King, to understand these things better than I do.* But *Alexander* well considering of what Persons and Things it became him to be the Hearer and Spectator, and with whom to contend, and exercise his personal Strength, made it his Business to excel all others in the Art of War, and according to that of *Æschylus*, to be

A Warriour terrible to equal Foes.

For having learned this Art from his Ancestors, the *Æacides* and *Hercules*, he gave to other Arts their due Honour and Esteem without the least Emulation; embracing and favouring what was in them Noble and Elegant, but never suffering himself to be carried away with the Pleasure of being a Practitioner in Any. In his time flourish'd the two Tragedians, *Thessalus* and *Athenodorus*, who

who contending for the Prize, the *Cyprian* Kings supplied the Charges of the Theatre, and the Judges were to be the most Renowned Captains of the Age. But at length *Athenodorus* being adjudged the Victor, *I could have wished*, said *Alexander*, *rather to have lost a part of my Kingdom, then to have seen Theſſalus vanquiſh*. Yet he neither interceded with the Judges, nor any way diſapproved or blamed the Judgment; believing it became him to be Superior to all others, only to ſubmit to Juſtice. To the Comedian *Scarpheus*, who had inſerted into one of his Scenes certain Verſes in the nature of a begging Petition, laughed heartily at the Conceit, he gave Ten Talents. *Ariſtonicus* was in the number of the moſt famous Muſicians of thoſe times. This Man being ſlain in Battle, ſtrenuouſly fighting to aſſiſt and ſave his Friend, *Alexander* commanded his Statue to be made in Braſs, and ſet up in the Temple of *Pythian Apollo*, holding his Harp in one Hand, and his Spear upright in the other, not only in Memory of the Perſon, but in Honour of Muſic it ſelf, as inciting to Fortitude, and inſpiring thoſe who are rightly and generouſly bred to it, with a kind of a ſuper-natural Courage and Bravery.

Even *Alexander* himſelf, at what time *Antigenides* played before him in the *Harmatian* Mood, was ſo transported and warmed for Battle by the Charms of loſty Air, that leaping from his Seat all in his clattering Armour, he began to lay at thoſe who ſtood next him, thereby verifying to the *Spartans* what was commonly ſung among themſelves,

The Maſculine Touches of the well-tun'd Lyre

Unſheath the Sword, and warlike Rage inſpire.

Furthermore, there was alſo *Apelles* the Painter, and *Lyſippus* the Statuary, both living under the Reign of *Alexander*. The firſt of which painted him grasping *Jupiter's* Thunder in his Hand, ſo artificially, and in ſuch lively

lively Colours, that it was said of the two *Alexanders*; That *Philips's* was *Invincible*, but *Apelle's* *Unimitable*. *Lysippus*, when he had finish'd the first Statue of *Alexander*, looking up with his Face to the Sky, the contrary part of his Head gently leaning toward his Shoulder (which was frequently *Alexander's* Musing Posture while he lived) not improperly added to the *Pedestal* the following Lines:

————— To Heaven be looked,
And viewing Jove, the Thunderer thus bespake,
The Earth is mine, do thou Olympus take.

For which *Alexander* gave to *Lysippus* the sole Patent for making all his Statues; because that he only expressed in Brass the Vigour of his Mind, and in his Lineaments represented the Lustre of his Vertue; while others striving to imitate the turning of his Neck, together with the rolling and briskness of his Eyes, failed to observe the Manly Sternness and Lion-like Fierceness of his Countenance. Among the great Artists of that time was *Scaphocrates*, who never studied Elegancy, nor what was sweet and alluring to the Eye, but only bold and lofty Workmanship, and Design becoming the Munificence of Royal Bounty. He attending upon *Alexander*, found fault with all the Paintings, Sculptures and cast Figures that were made of his Person, as the Works of mean and slothful Artificers. But I, said he, will undertake to fix the Likeness of thy Body on Matter Incorruptible, such as has Eternal Foundations, and a Ponderosity Stedfast and Immoveable. For the Mountain *Athos*, where it rises largest and most conspicuous, having a just Symmetry of Breadth and Height, Members, Arteries and Distances answerable to the Shape of Human Body, may be so wrought and formed, as to be not only in Imagination and Fancy, but really the Effigies and Statue of *Alexander*; whose Feet, serving for the Basis of the Mountain, should reach to the Seas, grasping in his right Hand a fair and populous City, and with his left, from a large
Urn,

Urn, pouring fourth a swelling River into the Ocean. But as for Gold, Brass, Ivory, Wood and Painterstaining. Cast Figures, and small Images of Parget, Toys no sooner bought than stollen, I despise them all. This Discourse when Alexander heard, he admired and praised the Spirit and Confidence of the Artist; But, said he, let Athos alone: For 'tis sufficient that it is the Monument of the vanquished Folly and presuming Pride of one King already. Our Portraiture the Snowy Caucasus and Towering Emodus, Tanais and the Caspian Sea shall draw: They shall remain Eternal Monuments of our Renown. But grant, that so vast an Undertaking should have been brought to Perfection: Is there any Person living, do ye think, that would believe such a Figure, such a Form, and so great a Design, to be the Spontaneous and Accidental Production of fantastic Nature? Certainly, not one. What may we otherwise think of the Statue representing him grasping Thunder, and that other, as famous, with his Spear in his Hand? Is it possible that a Colossus of a Statue should ever be made by Fortune without the help of Art, nay, though she should profusely afford all the Materials imaginable of Gold, Brass, Ivory or any other Substance whatever? Much less is it probable, that so Great a Personage, and indeed the greatest of all his Ancestors, should be the Workmanship of Fortune, without the assistance of Vertue? And all this, perhaps, because she has made him the Potent Master of Arms, Horses, Money and Wealthy Cities? Which he who knows not how to use, shall rather find to be destructive and dangerous, then Aids to advance his Power and Magnificence, as being an Argument of Weakness and Pusillanimity. Noble therefore was the Saying of Antisthenes, That we ought to wish an Enemy all other things beneficial to Mankind, but only Fortitude. For those Blessings are not theirs, but the Victors, as being easily ravish'd by the Vanquisher from a weak Adversary. Therefore it was, they say, that Nature

ture provided for the Hart, one of the most timorous of Creatures, such large and branchy Horns, to teach us, that Strength and Weapons nothing avail, where Conduct and Courage is wanting. In like manner, Fortune frequently bestowing Wealth and Empire upon Princes simple and faint-hearted, who blemish their Dignity by Misgovernment, renders more Illustrious, and more firmly establishes Vertue, as being that which only makes a Man most truly Beautiful and Majestic: For indeed, according to that of *Epicharmus*,

*'Tis the Mind only sees, the Mind
That hears; the rest are Deaf and Blind.*

For as for the Senses, they only seem to have their proper Opportunities to act. But that the Mind alone is that which gives both Assistance and Ornament, the Mind that overcomes, that excels, and acts the Kingly part, while those other blind, deaf and inanimate Things do but overthrow, depress and disgrace the Possessors void of Vertue, is easily made manifest by Experience. For *Semiramis*, but a Woman, though neither superior in Wealth nor Extent of Dominion, set forth great Navies, rais'd mighty Armies, built *Babylon*, cover'd the *Red Sea* with her Fleets, and subdued the *Ethiopians* and *Arabians*. On the other side, *Sardanapalus*, though born a Man, spent those Hours in combing Purple Wooll, which he always did, lying among his Harlots in a lascivious Posture upon his Back, with his Heels higher then his Head. After his Decease, they made for him a Statue of Stone resembling a Woman dancing, seeming to snap with her Fingers, as she held them over her Head, with this Inscription,

Eat, drink, indulge thy Lust; all other Things is nothing.

Whence it came to pass, that *Crates*, seeing the Golden Statue of *Phryne* the Courtesan standing in the Temple of *Delphos*,

Delphos, cried out, *There stands a Trophy of the Grecian Luxury*. But had he view'd the Life, or rather Burial (for I find but little difference) of *Sardanapalus*, would he have imagin'd that Statue to have been a Trophy of Fortunes Indulgences? Shall we suffer the Fortune of *Alexander* to be sullied by the Touch of *Sardanapalus*? or endure that the latter should challenge the Majesty and Prowess of the former? For what did *Sardanapalus* enjoy through her Favour, more than other Princes receive at her Hands? Arms, Horses, Weapons, Money and Guards of the Body? Let Fortune, with all these Assistances, make *Arideus* Famous, if she can: Let her, if she can, advance the Renown of *Ochus*, *Amasis*, *Oarses*, *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, or *Nicomedes* the *Bythinian*. Of which two last, the one casting his Diadem at *Pompey's* Feet, ignominiously surrendered up his Kingdom a Prey to the Victor. And as for *Nicomedes*, he, after he had shaved his Head, and put on the Cap of Liberty, acknowledged himself no more than a freed Vassal of the *Roman* People. Rather let us therefore affirm, That Fortune makes her Favourites little, poor spirited, and pusillanimous Cowards. Nor is it just to ascribe Vice to Misfortune, Fortitude and Wisdom to Prosperity. For indeed Fortune, with all her Favours, ought rather to attribute her Prosperity to *Alexander's* Reign; all which time she appeared so illustrious, Invincible, Magnanimous, so Merciful and Just. Inasmuch that after his Decease, *Leosthenes* likened this vast Bulk of Power, wandering as in a Mist, and sometimes violently rushing one Body against the other, to the Giant *Cyclops*, who after he had lost his Eye, went feeling and groping about with his Hands before him, as unable to guide him as his Forehead. So strangely did that vast Pile of Dominion rowl and tumble about in the Dark of Confusion, when shattered into Anarchy by the loss of its Supreme Head. Or rather, like dead Bodies, whose Members, when the Soul takes her Flight, no longer grow

grow together, no longer act together, but, by a total dissipation of the Vital Spirits, become stiff, and useless to each other. Thus *Alexander's* Empire, wanting his enlivening Conduct, panted, gasped and shivered, while it struggled as with so many mortal Pangs, against the Divisions and Contentions of *Perdiccas*, *Meleager*, *Seleucus* and *Antigonus*; like Pulses beating with a feeble Motion, while the Blood is yet warm; till at length, totally corrupted and purified, it produced, like so many Worms, a sort of degenerate Kings and faint-hearted Princes. This he himself seem'd to prophesie, reproving *Ephestion* for quarreling with *Craterus*: *What Power*, said he, *or Signal Achievement* couldst thou pretend to, should any one deprive thee of thy *Alexander*? The same will I be bold to say to the Fortune of that Time: Where would have been thy Grandeur, where thy Glory, where thy vast Empire, thy Invincibility, should any one have bereaved thee of thy *Alexander*? That is, Should any one have deprived thee of thy Skill and Dexterity in War, thy Magnificence in Expence, thy Moderation in the midst of so much Affluence, thy Prowess in the Field, thy Meekness to the Vanquished. Frame, if thou canst, another Piece like him, that missing all his Noble Qualities, shall neither be magnificently Liberal, nor foremost in Battle, that shall not regard nor esteem his Friends, that shall not be compassionate to his Captives, that shall not moderate his Pleasures, that shall not be watchful to take all Opportunities; whom Victory shall not make Inexorable, nor Prosperity Insolent; and try if thou canst make him another *Alexander*. Who ever obtained Renown by Folly and Improbability? Separate Vertue from the Fortunate, and they every where appear little. Among those that deserve his Bounty, for his close-handed Illiberality; among the Laborious, for his Effeminacy; among the Gods, for his Superstition; among good Men, for his envious Conditions; among the Valiant, for his Cowardice;

Cowardice ; among Women, for his Attempts of inordinate Lust. For as unskilful Workmen, erecting small Figures upon huge Pedestals, betray the slightness of their Understandings ; so *Fortune*, when she brings a person of a poor and narrow Soul upon the Stage of weighty and glorious Actions, does but expose and disgrace him, as a person whom the Vanity of his own ill Conduct has rendred worthless. So that true Grandeur does not consist in the Possession, but in the Use of Noble Means. For new born Infants frequently inherit their Father's Kingdoms and Empires. Such an one was *Charillus*, whom *Lycurgus* carried in his Swadling-bands, and resigning his own Authority, proclaimed King of *Lacedæmon*, in the Place where the *Spartans* usually kept their public Feasts. Yet was not the Infant thereby the more famous, but he who surrendered to the Infant his paternal Right, scorning Fraud and Usurpation. But who could make *Aridæus* Great, whom little differing from a Child, only that he was mantled in purple, *Meleager* seated in *Alexander's* Throne ? Prudently done, that so in a few days it might appear, how Men govern by Vertue, and how by Fortune. He made the unfortunate Prince make his Entry like a Player on the Stage, or rather exposed as in a Scene the Diadem of the Habitable World upon a Brainless Head, to countenance his own Ambition. For, said he,

Women may bear the Burden of a Crown,

When a Renowned Commander puts it on.

Yet some may say, It is more frequent for Women and Children to confer Dignity, Riches and Empire upon others. Thus the Eunuch *Bagoas*, recovering the Diadem of *Persia* from *Ochus*, set it upon the Head of *Oarxes* and *Darius*. But for a Man to take upon him the Burden of a vast Dominion, and so to manage his ponderous Affairs, as not to suffer himself to sink and be overwhelm'd under the immense weight of wakeful Cares, and incessant

incessant Labour, that's the Character which signalizes a person endued with Vertue, Understanding and Wisdom. All these Royal Qualities *Alexander* had, whom some accuse of being given to Wine: However, it never can be said, the Great *Alexander* ever gave himself that Liberty in the heat of Action, or was ever drunk with the Pride of his Conquests and vast Power; when others intoxicated with the smallest part of his Prosperity, have ceased to be Masters of themselves. For, as the Poets sings;

The vainer sort, that view their Heaps of Gold,

Or else at Court advanced, high Places hold,

Grow wanton with those unexpected Showrs

That Fortune on their happy Greatness pours;

And some, for small Successes, grow so proud,

Nothing will serve, but each must be a God.

Thus *Clytus* having sunk some three or four of the *Grecian* Galleys near the Island *Amorgus*, called himself *Neptune*, and carried a *Trident*. So *Demetrius*, to whom Fortune vouchsafed a small Portion of *Alexander's* Power, assumed the Title of *Kataibates* (as if descended from Heaven) to whom the several Cities sent their Embassadors, by the Name of *God Consultants*, and his Determinations were call'd *Oracles*. *Lyfimachus* having made himself Master of some part of the Skirts of *Alexander's* Empire, swelled to that excess of Pride and Vain-glory, as to break forth into this ranting Expression, *Now the Byzantines make their Addresses to me, because I touch Heaven with my Spear*. At which words, *Pasiades* of *Byzantium* being then present, *Let us be gone*, said he, *lest he pierce Heaven with the Point of his Lance*. What shall we, in the next place think of those, to whom it might be lawful, as Imitators of *Alexander*, to have high Thoughts of themselves? *Clearchus* having made himself Tyrant of *Heraclea*, carried a Scepter like that of *Jupiter's* in his Hand, and named one of his Sons *Thunders* *Dyonisius* the Younger called himself the Son of *Apollo*, which he owned in this, among other Lines of an Epigram:

M m

— The

— *The Heav'nly Son,*

Of Dorian Nymph, to Phæbus only know.

His Father put to Death above ten thousand of his Subjects, betrayed his Brother out of Envy to his Enemies, and not enduring to expect the Natural Death of his Mother, at that time very aged, caused her to be strangled, writing in one of his Tragedies.

For Tyranny must own no other

Unless Injustice, for a Mother.

Yet after all this, he named one of his Daughters *Vertue*, another *Temperance*, and a third *Justice*. Others there were that assum'd the Titles of *Benefactors*, others of *Glorious Conquerors*; others of *Preservers*, and others usurpt the Title of *Great*, and *Magnificent*. But should we go about to recount their promiscuous Marriages like *Horfes*; their continual herding among *Impudent* and *Lawless Women*; their Contaminations of *Boys*; their *Drumming* among *Effeminate Eunuchs*; their perpetual *Gaming*, their *Piping* in *Theaters*, their *Nocturnal Revels*, and *Days* consumed in *Riot*, it would be a task too tedious to undertake. As for *Alexander*, he dined by break of Day, always sitting; and Supt at the shutting in of the Evening; he Drank when he Sacrificed to the Gods. With his Friend *Medius* he played for *Diversion*, being then upon his recovery from a *Violent Fever*. He also played upon the Road as he marched, learning between whiles to throw a *Dart*, and leap from his *Chariot*. He Married *Roxana* meerly for love; but *Statyra* the Daughter of *Darius*, upon the accompt of *State Policy*; for such a *Conjunction* of both Nations strengthned his *Conquest*. As to the rest, his temperance was equal to his fortitude in vanquishing the Men. He never desired the sight of any *Virgin* that was unwilling; and those he saw, he passed by as if he had not seen; mild and affable to all others, only proud and lofty to the fair. As for the Wife of *Darius*, a Woman most Beautiful, he never would endure

ture to hear a word spoken in Commendation of her Features. When she was dead, he graced her Funerals with such a Regal Pomp, that as it was hardly possible to believe so much Continency blended with so much Civility and Courtship, so there was the same impossibility to accuse his chastity of Injustice. Which things were thought at first incredible by *Darius* himself. For he was one of those who thought *Alexander* to be only the Darling of Fortune. But when he understood the truth, *Well*, said he, *I do not yet perceive the Condition of the Persians so deplorable, since the World can never tax us now of Imbecillity or Effeminacy, whose fate it was to be vanquish'd by such a Person. Therefore my Prayers shall be to the Gods for his Prosperity, and that he may be still victorious in War; to the end that in well doing I may surpass Alexander. (For my Emulation and Ambition leads me in point of honour to shew my self more Cordial and Friendly than he.) If then the Fates have otherwise determined of me and mine, O Jupiter, preserver of the Persians, and you his equal Deities, to whom the care of Kings belongs, hear your suppliant, and suffer none but Alexander to sit upon the Throne of Cyrus. This was the manner of Alexander's being adopted by Darius, after he had called the Gods to witness that he did not resign his Kingdom to one unworthy of it. So true it is that Vertue is the Victor still. But now, if you please, let us ascribe to Fortune *Arbela* and *Cilicia*, and those other Acts of main force and violence; say, that Fortune thundered down the Walls of *Tyre*, and that Fortune opened the way into *Egypt*. Believe that by Fortune *Halicarnassus* fell, *Miletus* was taken, *Mazeus* left *Euphrates* unguarded, and the *Babylonian Fields* were strewed with the Carcasses of the slain. Yet was not his Prudence the gift of Fortune, nor his Temperance. Neither did Fortune, as it were em-paling his Inclinations, preserve him impregnable against his pleasures, nor invulnerable against the assaults of his fervent desires. These were the weapons with which he*

overthrew *Darius*. Fortunes Advantages, if so they may be called, were only the fury of Armed Men and Horses, Battles, Slaughters and Flights of routed Adversaries. But the great and most undoubted Victory which *Darius* lost, was this, that he was forced to yield to Vertue, Magnanimity, Prowess and Justice, while he beheld with Admiration the owner of those Royal Vertues, not to be overcome either by his Pleasures, nor the Inconveniences of tiresome labour, nor to be surpassed in liberality and nobleness of Mind. True it is, that among the Throngs of Shields and Spears, in the midst of Warlike Shouts, and the clashing of Weapons, *Tarrias* the Son of *Dinomenes*, *Antigenes* the *Pellenian*, and *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio* were Invincible, but in respect of their inordinate debauchery, their love of Women, their unsatiable covetousness, nothing superior to the meanest of their Captives. For the last of these Vices *Tarrias* was particularly noted; who when *Alexander* set the *Macedonians* out of Debt, and payed off all their Creditors, *Tarrias* pretended among the rest to owe a great Sum of Money, and brought a Suborned Person to demand the Sum as due to him; but being discovered, he would have laid violent Hands upon himself, had not *Alexander* forgiven him, and ordered him the Money. Remembring, that at the Battle of *Perinthus* fought by *Philip*, being shot into the Eye with a Dart, he would not suffer the head of it to be pulled out, till the Field was clear of the Enemy. *Antigenes*, when the sick and maimed Souldiers were to be sent back into *Macedon*, made suit to be Registered down in the number, pretending himself utterly disabled in the Wars; which very much troubled *Alexander*, who was well acquainted with his Valour, and that he wore the Scars about him of many a Bloody Field. But the fraud being detected, that was concealed under some little present Infirmary, *Alexander* askt him the reason of his design; who answered,

swered, he did it for love of *Telefippe*, that he might accompany her to the Sea, not being able to endure a separation from her. Presently, the King demanded, what the little Woman was, and to whom she belonged; To which when *Tarrias* replied, she was free from any Tye; *Well then*, said the King, *let us persuade her to stay, if Promises or Gifts will prevail*. So ready was he to pardon the dotages of love in others, so rigorous to himself. But for *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio*, he exercised his Incontinency after a more offensive manner. *Antigona* was a *Pellæan* Virgin, among the Captives, taken about *Damascus*; a Prisoner before to *Antophradates*, who took her going by Sea into *Samothracia*. The Beauty of this Damsel, though not extraordinary, yet was such as kept *Philotas* constant to her Embraces. Nay, she had so softened and mellowed this Man of Steel, I know not how, that he was not Master of himself in his enjoyments, but told her the very secrets of his Breast. Among other things, *Who was that Philip*, said he, *but Parmenio*? *Who is Alexander*, but *Philotas*? *What would become of Ammon and the Dragon's*, should we be once provok'd? These words *Antigona* prattled to one of her Companions, and she told them to *Craterus*. *Craterus* brings *Antigona* privately to *Alexander*, who forbore to offer her the least Incivility, but by her means piercing into *Philotas* Breast, detected the whole. Yet for seven years after he never discovered so much as the least sign of Jealousie, neither talkative in his Wine, nor open in his Anger; nor ever disclosed it to *Philotas* himself; from whom he never concealed the most inward of his Counsels and Designs. These recitals may suffice without being tedious, to shew that he exercised his Authority according to all the most Illustrious and Royal Methods of Government. To which Grandure, if he arrived by the assistance of Fortune, he is to be acknowledged so much the greater, because he made so glorious a Use of her. So that the more any Man extols

his Fortune, the more he advances his Vertue, by which he obtained such high Renown.

But now I shall return to the Beginnings of his Advancement, and the early Dawnings of his Power, and endeavour to discover what was there the great work of Fortune, which rendered *Alexander* so great by her assistance. First then, How came it to pass, some Neighbouring Barb did not seat him in the Throne of *Cyrus*, free from wounds, without loss of Blood, without a Toylsome Expedition, as formerly *Darius Hystaspis*? Or that some one flattered by a Woman, like *Darius* by *Atossa*, did not deliver up his Diadem to him, as the other did to *Xerxes*? So that the Empire of *Persia* came home to him, even to his own Doors? Or why did not some Eunuch aid him, as *Bagoas* did the Son of *Parysatis*, who only throwing off the Habit of a Messenger, immediately put on the Regal Turbant; who on a sudden and unexpectedly by Lot elected, obtained the Empire of the World, as at *Athens* the Law-givers and Rulers wont to be chosen? Would ye know how Men come to be Kings by Fortunes help? At *Argos*, the whole Race of the *Heraclidae* happened to be extinct, to whom the Scepter of that Kingdom always belonged. Upon which, consulting the Oracle, answer was made, that an Eagle should direct them. Within a few days the Eagle appeared towring aloft, but stooping, at length lighted upon *Ægon's* House: Thereupon *Ægon* was chosen King. Another time, in *Paphos*, the King that there Reigned being an unjust and wicked Tyrant, *Alexander* resolved to dethrone him, and therefore sought out for another of the Race of the *Kinyradae* seeming to be at an end. They told him there was one yet in Being, a poor Man, and of no accompt, who lived miserably in a certain Garden. Thereupon Messengers were sent, who found the poor Man watering some few small Beds of Pot-herbs. The miserable Creature was strangely surprized to see so many Souldiers about him,

but

but go he must ; and so being brought before *Alexander* in his Rags and Tatters, he caused him presently to be proclaimed King, and clad in Purple ; which done, he was admitted into the number of those who were called the *Kings Companions*. The Name of this Person was *Anonymous*. Thus *Fortune* creates Kings suddenly, easily changing the Habits, and altering the Names of those that ne're expected, nor ever hoped for any such thing. All this while, what Favours did *Fortune* shower upon *Alexander*, but what he merited ? what famed him, what renowned him, but what he swate for, what he bled for ? What came *Gratis*, what without the Price of great Achievements and Illustrious Actions ? He quenched his Thirst in Rivers mixed with Blood ; he marched over Bridges of slain Carcasses ; he Grazed the Fields, to satisfy his present Hunger ; Nations covered with Snow, and Cities lying under Ground, he ploughed up with his Sword ; he made the Hostile Sea submit to his Fleets ; and marching over the Thirsty and Barren Sands of the *Gedrosians* and *Arachosians* he discovered Green at Sea before he saw it at Land. So that if I might use the same liberty of Speech for *Alexander* to *Fortune*, as to a Man, I would thus expostulate with her. Insulting *Fortune*, when, and where didst thou give easie entrance to *Alexander's* vast performances ? What impregnable Rock was ever surrendered to him without a Bloody Assault, by thy Favour ? What City didst thou ever deliver unguarded into his Hands ? or what unarmed Battalion of Men, What faint-hearted Prince ? What Negligent Captain ? or sleepy Sentinels did he ever Surprize ? When didst thou ever befriend him with so much Fordable River, a Mild Winter, or an easie Summer ? Get thee to *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleuchus*, to *Artaxerxes* the Brother of *Cyrus*. Get thee to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. Them living, their Fathers Proclaimed Kings ; they won Battles, whom no Mothers wept for ; they spent their days in Festivals, ad-

miring the Pomp of Shews and Theaters, and still more happy prolonged their Reigns till scarce their Feeble Hands could weild their Scepters. But if nothing else, behold the Body of *Alexander* wounded, mangled, battered, bruised from the Crown of his Head to the Soles of his Feet,

With Spears and Swords, and Stones by Engins Hurl'd.

At the Battle of *Granicum* his Mortion was cleft to his very Skull ; at *Gaza* he was wounded in the Shoulder with a Dart. Among the *Malli*, he was shot in the Shin so desperately, that the Bone of his Shank being broken, started out of the Skin. In *Hyrkania* he was struck in the Neck with a Stone, which caused such a dimness in his Eyes, that for many days he was in danger of losing his sight. Among the *Affarracans* he was wounded in the Heel with an *Indian* Dart : at what time, with a smiling Countenance, he thus derided his Flatterers that saw him dress'd.

This no Corrupted Matter is, but Blood,

Such Blood as from the Gods, when wounded flow'd.

At *Iffus* he was run through the Thigh with a Sword by *Darius*, who as *Chares* relates, encountered him Hand to Hand. *Alexander* also himself, writing the truth with all sincerity to *Antipater*, *It was my Fortune*, said he, *to be wounded with a Poignard in the Thigh, but no ill Symptoms attended it, neither when it was newly done, nor afterwards during the Cure.* Another time among the *Malli*, he was wounded with an Arrow, two Cubits in length, that went in at his Breast, and came out at his Neck, as *Aristoxenus* relates. Crossing the *Tanaïs* against the *Scythians*, and winning the Field, he pursued the flying Enemy a hundred and fifty furlongs, tho at the same time labouring with a Dysentery. Well contrived, Vain Fortune ! to advance and aggrandize *Alexander*, by lancing, broaching,

ching, boaring every part of his Body. Not like *Minerva*, who, to save *Menelaus*, directed the Dart against the most impenetrable parts of his Armor; blunting the force of the Weapon with his Breast-plate, Belt and Scarf, so that it only glanced upon his Skin, and drew forth two or three drops of Blood, not exposing the principal parts naked to Mischief; driving the wounds through the very Bones, rounding every corner of the Body, besieging the Eyes, Undermining the pursuing Feet, stopping the Torrent of Victory, and disappointing the prosecution of noble designs. For my part, I know no Prince to whom Fortune ever was more unkind, tho she has been envious and severe enough to several. However other Princes she destroyed with a swift and rapid destruction, like Thunder; but in her hatred against *Alexander*, she prolonged her Malice, and persisted still implacable, and inexorable, as she shewed her self to *Hercules*. For what *Typhons* and monstrous Giants did she not oppose against him? Which of his Enemies did she not fortifie with store of Arms, deep Rivers, steep Mountains and the Foreign strength of Massy Elephants? Now had not *Alexander* been a Personage of transcending Wisdom, and actuated by the impulse of a more than ordinary Virtue, but had only been supported by Fortune, he would have trusted to her, as her Favourite, and spared himself the labour, and the turmoil of ranging so many Armies, fighting so many Battles; the Toyl of so many Sieges and Pursuits; vexations of Revolting Nations, and haughty Princes, not enduring the curb of Foreign Dominion; and all his tedious marches into *Bactria*, *Maracanda* and *Sogdiana*, where frequent Insurrections, like so many *Hydra's* Heads, no sooner one cut off, but another springing, kept him in restless Action. And here I may seem to utter an absurdity, but I will venture to speak it, as being an undoubted truth; that it had been the reproach of Fortune, had she over-ruled him to recede, as he had like to have

have done, from his opinion of being the Son of *Jupiter Ammon*. For who but one sprung from the Gods, *Hercules* excepted, ever undertook and finished those hazardous and toilsom Labours which he did? Yet what did *Hercules* do, but terrifie Lions, pursue Wild-boars and scare Birds; enjoyed thereto by one evil Man, that he might not have leisure for those greater Actions of punishing *Anteus*, and putting an end to the Murders of the *Busirideæ*. But it was Vertue that enjoyned *Alexander* to undertake that Godlike Labour, not for Covetousness of the Golden Burden of ten thousand Camels, not for the possession of the *Median* Women, nor glorious Ornaments of *Persian* Luxury, nor for greediness of the *Calydonian* Wine, or Fish of *Hyrkania*, but that he might reduce all Mankind as it were into one family, under one form of Government, and the same custom of Intercourse and Conversation. This inbred Love of Vertue increased and burgeoned in such a manner, in his ripening Intellectuals as he grew in years, that being to entertain the *Persian* Embassadors in his Fathers absence, he never asked them any Questions that savoured of Boyish Imbecillity; never troubled them to answer any Questions about the Golden Vine, the Pendent Gardens, or what Habit the King wore; but still desired to be satisfied in the chiefest Concerns of the Empire; What force the *Persians* brought into the Field; and in what part of the Army the King fought? like that of *Ulysses*:

Where are the Magazines of Arms, and where

The barbed Steeds, provided for the War.

He also inquired which were the nearest Roads for them that Travailed from the Sea, up into the Country, at which the Embassadors astonished, *This Youth*, said they, *is a Great Prince; but ours, a Rich one.* No sooner was *Phillip* Interred, but his Resolution hurried him to cross the Sea: and having already grasped in his Hopes and Preparations, he made all imaginable haste to set foot in

Asia.

Asia. But *Fortune* opposed him, diverted him, and kept him back, creating a thousand vexatious Troubles to delay and stop him. First, she contrived the *Illyrian* and *Triballic* Wars, exciting to Hostility the Neighbouring Barbarians. But they, after many Dangers run, and many terrible Encounters, being at length chased even as far as *Scythia*, beyond the River *Ister*, he returned back to prosecute his first Design. But then again, spiteful *Fortune* encouraged the *Thebans* against him, and entangled him in the *Græcian* War, and the dire necessity of defending himself with Fire and Sword, and hidious Slaughter, against his Fellow-Country-men and Relations. Which War being brought to a dreadful end, away, he presently crossed into *Asia*, as *Clearchus* relates, with only Thirty days Provision: *Aristobulus* reports, with Seventy Talants: having before sold, and divided among his Friends, his own and the Revenues of his Crown. Only *Perdiccas* refused what he offered him, asking him at the same time, *What he had left for himself?* To whom when *Alexander* replied, *Nothing but Hopes*. For that reason, said he, *we refuse thy Gift: For it is not just to accept of thine, but to expect from Darius*. What were then the Hopes with which *Alexander* passed into *Asia*? Not a vast Power mustered out of Populous Cities; nor Fleets attending him, to avoid the Mountains; nor Whips and Fetters, the Instruments of Barbarian Fury, to curb and Manacle the Sea. But in a small Army, surpassing desire of Glory, Emulation among those of equal Age, and a noble strife to excel in Honour and Vertue among Friends. Then, as for himself, he carried with him all these Great Hopes: Piety towards the Gods, Fidelity to his Friends, Generous Frugality, Temperance, Skill in War, Contempt of Death, Magnanimity, Humanity, Decent Affability, Candid Integrity, constancy in Counsel, Quickness in Execution, Precedence in Honour, and an Effectual purpose

to

to follow the Steps of Vertue. Wherefore *Homer* in his describing the Beauty of *Agamemnon*, seems not to have observed the Rules of Decorum or Probability, in any of his three Similitudes.

Like Thundring Jove's, his Awful Head and Eyes
The Gazing Crowd with Majesty surprize;
In every part with Form Celestial Grac't,
A Breast like Neptun's, and like Mars, a Wast.

But as for *Alexander*, if his Celestial Parent formed and compos'd him of several Vertues, may we not conclude, That he had the Wisdom of *Cyrus*, the Temperance of *Agefilas*, the Foresight of *Themistocles*, the Skill of *Philip*, the daring Courage of *Brasidas*, the Shrewdness and Politic Conduct of *Pericles*? Certainly if we compare him with the most ancient Hero's, he was more Temperate than *Agamemnon*: For he preferred a Captive before his lawful Wife, though but newly Wedded: *Alexander*, before he was legally Married, abstained from his Prisoners. More Magnanimous than *Achilles*: For he accepted of a small Sum of Money for the Redemption of *Hector's* Dead Body: *Alexander* spared for no Expence to adorn the Funerals of *Darius*. He, accepted Gifts and Bribes from his Friends, as the Attonement of his Wrath: *Alexander* once a Victor, enriched his Enemies. Much more Pious than *Diomed*: For he scrupled not to fight against the Gods; *Alexander* ascribed to Heaven all his Successes. More bewailed of his Relations than *Ulysses*: His Mother dyed for Grief; but the Mother of *Alexander's* Enemy, out of Affection, bare him company in his Death. In short, If *Solon* proved so wise a Ruler by Fortune; if *Miltiades* became so famous a Captain by Fortune; if *Aristides* was so renowned for his Justice by Fortune; then there is nothing can be called the Work of Vertue. Then is Vertue only an Airy Fiction, and a Word in request among the frivolous Discourses of Morality,

Morality, feigned and magnified by Sophisters and Lawgivers. But if every one of these whom we have mentioned were Wealthy or Poor, Weak or Strong, Deformed or Beautiful, Long or Short-liv'd, by Fortune; but great Captains, great Lawgivers, famous for Governing Kingdoms and Common-wealths, by Vertue and Reason; then on God's Names let us compare *Alexander* with the best of them. *Solon* by a Law made a great Abatement upon the Payment of the *Athenians* private Debts, which he called his *Burden easing* Law: *Alexander* discharged the Debts of his *Macedonians* at his own Expences. *Pericles* laying a Tax upon the People, expended the Money in building Temples to beautifie the Tower of *Athens*: *Alexander* sent home Ten thousand Talents out of the Spoils of the Barbarians, for the building of Temples to the Gods all over *Greece*. *Brasidas* advanced his Fame all over *Greece*, by breaking through the Enemies Army lying Encamped by the Sea-side, near *Methone*: But when you read of that same daring Jump of *Alexander's*, so astonishing to the Hearers, much more to them that beheld it, when he threw himself from the Walls of the *Oxidracian* Metropolis, among the thickest of the Enemy, assailing him on every side with Spears, Darts and Swords; while he alone made good his Station, in defiance of all their Fury; tell me where you meet with such an Example of matchless Prowess, or to what you can compare it, but to a Leam of Lightning violently flashing from a Cloud, and impetuously driven by the Wind, as formerly *Phæbus* is said to have darted himself from the Sky, glittering in his flaming Armour. The Enemy at first amazed and strook with horror, retreated and fell back; till seeing him single, they came on again with a redoubled force. Now was not this a great and splendid Testimony of Fortunes Kindness, to throw him into an inconsiderable and barbarous Town, and there to enclose and immure him a Prey to worthless Enemies?

and

and when his Friends made haste to his assistance, to break the Scaling-ladders to prevent their Rescue? Of three that got upon the Walls, and flung themselves down in his defence, endearing Fortune presently dispatched one. The other pierced and struck with a Shower of Darts, could only be said to live. Without, the *Macedonians* foamed, and filled the Air with helpless Cries, having no Engines at hand. All they could do, was to dig down the Walls with their Swords, tear out the Stones with their Nails, and to omit nothing but what was impossible, to rend them out with their Teeth. All this while *Alexander*, Fortune's Favourite, whom she always covered with her Protection, like a Wild-Beast entangled in a Snare, deserted stood, and destitute of all Assistance, not labouring for *Susa*, *Babylon*, *Bactra*, or to vanquish the mighty *Porus* (for to miscarry in great and Glorious Attempts, is no Reproach.) But so malicious was Fortune, so kind to the *Barbarians*, such a Hater of *Alexander*, that she not only aimed at his Life and Body, but to have bereaved him of his Honour, and sully'd his Renown. For *Alexander's* Fall had never been so much lamented near *Euphrates* or *Hydaspes*; or had he perished by the Hand of *Darius*, or the Courage of the *Persians* fighting with all their might and main in defence of their King; or had he tumbled from the Walls of *Babylon*, and all his Hopes together. Thus *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas* tell; whose Death was to be ascribed to their Vertue, not such a poor Misfortune as this. But what was the singular Act of Fortune's Favour which we are now inquiring into? She enticed with the Bait of Curiosity the King and Lord of the greatest part of the World, into the farthest Nook and Corner of Barbarism, and there penn'd him up and hid him, that she might overwhelm and ruin him with ignoble Weapons, and Instruments of Mischief, that offered themselves by chance. There the first Blow he received with a Bat-
tel-Ax

tel-Ax cleft his Helmet, and entered his Skull ; at what time another shot him with an *Indian* Arrow into the Breast, near one of his Paps, the Head being four Fingers broad, and five in length ; which, together with the weight of the Shaft, did not any little torment him. But, which was worst of all, while he was thus defending himself from his Enemies before him, when he had laid a bold Attempter to approach his Person sprawling upon the Earth with his Sword, a Slave from a Mill close by came behind him, and with a great Iron Pestle gave him such a bang upon the Neck, as deprived him for the present both of his Senses and his Sight. However, his Vertue did not yet forsake him, but supply'd him still with Courage, infusing Strength withal, and Speed into those about him. For *Ptolomy*, *Lemnaeus*, and *Leonatus*, and some others that had gained the Wall, made to his succour, and stood about him like so many Bulwarks of his Vertue ; out of meer Affection and Kindness to their Sovereign, exposing their Bodies, their Faces, and their Lives in his defence. For it is not Fortune that overrules Men to run the hazard of Death for brave Princes, but the love of Vertue which allures them, as the taste of sweet Juycies entices Bees, to surround and guard their Chief Commander. What Person then, at that time beholding in security this strange Adventure, would not have confessed, but that he had seen a desperate Combate of Fortune against Vertue ? That the *Barbarians* were undeservedly Superiour through Fortun's help ; but that the *Greeks* resisted beyond Imagination, through the force of Vertue ? So that if the *Barbarians* had vanquished, it had been the Act of Fortune, or some concurring Evil Demon ; but as the *Greeks* became the Victors, they owed their Conquest to their Vertue, their Prowess, their Friendship and Fidelity to each other. For these were all the Live-guard *Alexander* had at that time, Fortune having interposed a Wall between him and all his

his other Force ; so that neither Fleets nor Armies, Cavalry nor Infantry, could stand him in any stead. Therefore no sooner did the *Macedonians* enter the Town, but they put all to the Sword not able to resist their Vertue, and laid the City in Ruins. But this little availed *Alexander* ; for he was carried off with the Dart sticking in his Breast, having now a War in his own Bowels, while the Arrow in his Bosom was a kind of Cord, or rather Nail, that being driven through his Body, fastned him to his Bed. When they went about to dress him, the forked Shape of the Iron Head would not permit the Surgeons to draw it forth from the Root of the Wound, being fixed in the solid Parts of the Breast that fortifie the Heart. Nor durst they attempt to cut away the Shaft that stuck out, fearing they should put him to an excess of Torment by the motion of the Iron in the Cleft of the Bone, and cause a new Flux of Blood not easie to be stopped. *Alexander* observing their hesitation and delay, endeavour'd himself with a little Knife to cut off the Shaft close to the Skin ; but his Hand fail'd him, being seiz'd with a heavy numness, by reason of the Inflammation of the Wound. Thereupon he commanded the Surgeons, and those that stood about him, to try themselves, and not to be afraid, giving them all the Encouragement he could. Those that wept, he upbraided for their Weakness : Others he called *Deserters*, that refused him their Assistance in such a time of need. At length, calling to his Friends, *Never*, said he, *afflict your selves, nor fear for me : For how shall I believe you to be Contemners of Death, when you betray your selves to be afraid of mine ?*

F I N I S.

